

CONTROVERSERS
of the Times
Like Spirits in the Mineralls with
all their labor nothing is don.
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To the Reader.



IF that Reverend and worthy perſon Mr. Farindon *had not died before the Impreſſion of this Book, you had received from that excellent hand an exact account of the* Authours *Life, which he had begun, and reſolved to perfect, and prefix to this Edition. And as the loſs of him is great in many particulars, ſo eſpecially in this; becauſe there was none to whom* Mr. Hales *was ſo throughly known as unto him, nor was there any ſo able to declare his worth, partly by reaſon of his own abilities eminently known, principally becauſe he learn'd his Authour from an intimate converſe, who was a man never to be truly expreſs'd but by himſelf.*

I am therefore to entreat thee, Reader, being deprived of the proper Plutarch, *not to expect any ſuch thing as a Life from me, but to accept of ſo much onely as is here intended. If* Mr. Hales *were unknown unto thee, be pleaſed to believe what I know and affirm to be true of him; if he were known, then onely be ſatisfied that what is publiſhed in his name did really proceed from him: and*

more then this needs not to be ſpoken in reference to the advancement of this Work; becauſe he which knew or believeth what an excellent perſon Mr. Hales *was, and ſhall be alſo perſwaded that he was the Author of this Book, cannot chuſe but infinitely deſire to ſee and read him in it.*

In order to the Firſt of theſe, I ſhall ſpeak no more than my own long experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, ſhall freely and ſincerely prompt me to. Mr. John Hales, *ſometime Greek Profeſſour of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *long Fellow of* Eton College, *and at laſt alſo Prebendary of* Windſore, *was a man, I thinke, of as great a ſharpneſs, quickneſſe and ſubtilty of wit as ever this; or, perhaps, any Nation bred. His induſtry did ſtrive, if it were poſſible, to equall the largeneſſe of his capacity, whereby he became as great a Maſter of polite, various and Univerſall Learning as ever yet convers'd with Bookes. Proportionate to his reading was his Meditation, which furniſhed him with a Judgement beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon unordinary Notions, rais'd out of ſtrange obſervations and comprehenſive thoughts within himſelfe. So that he really was a moſt prodigious Example of an acute and piercing Wit, of a vaſt and illimited Knowledge, of a ſevere and profound Judgement.*

Although this may ſeeme, as in it ſelfe it truly is, a grand

a grand Elogium; *yet I cannot eſteem him leſſe in any thing which belongs to a good man then in thoſe intellectuall perfections: and had he never underſtood a letter hee had other Ornaments ſufficient to endear him. For he was of a Nature (as we ordinarily ſpeake) ſo kinde, ſo ſweet, ſo courting all mankind, of an affability ſo prompt, ſo ready to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it neer as eaſie a task for any one to become ſo Knowing as ſo Obliging.*

A a Chriſtian, none more ever acquainted with the nature of the Goſpel, becauſe none more Studious of the knowledge of it, or more curious in the ſearch, which being ſtrengthened by thoſe great advantages before mentioned could not prove otherwiſe then highly effectuall. He took indeed to himſelfe a liberty of judgeing, not of others, but for himſelfe: and if ever any man might be allowed in theſe matters to judge, it was he who had ſo long, ſo much, ſo advantageouſly conſider'd, and which is more, never had the leaſt worldly deſigne in his determinations. He was not onely moſt truly and ſtrictly Juſt in his Secular tranſactions, moſt exemplarily Meeke and Humble notwithſtanding his perfections, but beyond all example Charitable, giving unto all, preſerving nothing but his Bookes to continue his learning and himſelfe: which when he had before digeſted, he was forced at

laſt to ſeed upon, at the ſame time the happieſt and moſt unfortunate helluo *of Books, the grand example of learning and of the envy and contempt which followeth it.*

This teſtimony may be truly given of his Perſon, and nothing in it liable to the leaſt exception but this alone, that it comes far ſhort of him. Which intimation I conceive more neceſſary for ſuch as knew him not, than all which hath been ſaid.

In reference to the ſecond part of my Deſign, I confeſs, while he lived none was ever more ſollicited and urged to write, and thereby truly to teach the world, than he; none ever ſo reſolved (pardon the expreſſion, ſo obſtinate) againſt it. His facile and courteous nature learnt onely not to yield to that ſollicitation. And therefore the World muſt be content to ſuffer the loſſe of all his learning with the deprivation of himſelf: and yet he cannot be accuſed for hiding of his talent, being ſo communicative that his chamber was a Church and his chair a Pulpit.

Onely that there might be ſome taſte continue of him: here are ſome of his Remaines *recollected; ſuch as he could not but write, and ſuch as when written were out of his power to deſtroy. Theſe conſiſt of two parts, of* Sermons, *and of* Letters, *and each of them proceeded from him upon reſpective obligations. The Letters though written by himſelf yet were wholly in the power of that Honourable perſon to whom they were ſent, and by that meanes they were perſerv'd. The Sermons preached*

on

on ſeveral occaſions were ſnatch't from him by his friends, and in their hands the Copies were continued, or by tranſcription diſperſed. Of both which I need to ſay no more then this, that you may be confident they are his.

The Editor hath ſent theſe abroad to explore what well-come they ſhall find; He hath ſome more of his Sermons & Tractates in his hands, & deſires if any Perſon have any other Writings of the ſame Author by him, that he would be pleaſed to communicate them to the Printer of this work, *T. Garthwait* upon promiſe, and any other engagement, that he will take care to ſee them Printed, and ſet forth by themſelves. This, Reader, is all the trouble thought fit to be given thee

By JOHN PEARSON.

Mr. *Garthwait.*

I Am very glad you chose so Judicious an Overseer of those *SERMONS* of Mr. *HALES* as Mr. *Gunning*, whom I alwayes have had in high esteem both for his Learning and Piety; and I am of his Opinion, that they may pass for extraordinary. That Sermon of *Wresting hard places of Scripture* may well begin your Collection. The other on *Rom.* 14. 1. *Him that is weak in the Faith receive*, &c. was preacht at *Pauls* Cross, and I moved him to print it. That of *My Kingdom is not of this World*; I once saw and returned to Mr. *Hales* with foure more which I saw him put into Mr. *Chillingworths* hands: I wish *Dixi Custodiam* were perfect, I have often heard him speak of it with a kinde of Complacency. That of *He speak a Parable that men ought always to pray*, I believe is his by the passage of the *Spunge* and the *Knife*, which I have heard from his mouth. The Sermon which you had from D. *Hammond* upon *Son remember*, &c. was preacht at *Eaton Colledge*. The other of Duels was either one or two, and preacht at the *Hague* to Sr. *D. Carlton* and his company. That you call a *Letter* on *I can do all things*, is a Sermon. The Sermon of *Peter went out and wept*, &c.——is under his own hand.

One caution I should put in, that you print nothing which is not written with his own hand, or be very careful in comparing them, for not long since one shewed me a Sermon, which he said was his, which I am confident could not be; for I saw nothing in it which was not *Vulgaris monetæ*, of a vulgar stamp, common, and flat, and low. There be some Sermons, that I much doubt of, for there is little of his spirit and *Genius* in them, and some that are imperfect, that of *Genesis* 17. 1. *Walk before me*, &c. is most imperfect, as appears by the *Autographum* which I saw at *Eaton* a fortnight since.

For

For his *LETTERS*, he had much trouble in that kinde from ſeveral friends, and I heard him ſpeak of that friends Letter you mention, pleaſantly, Mr.——*He ſets up Tops and I muſt whip them for him.* But I am very glad to hear you have gained *Thoſe Letters* into your hands written from the *Synod of Dort*, you may pleaſe to take notice that in his younger days he was a Calviniſt, and even then when he was employed at that Synod, and at the well preſſing 3. S. *John* 16. by *Epiſcopius*,——*there, I bid John Calvin good night*, as he has often told me. I believe they will be as acceptable, or in your phraſe as Saleable as his Sermons, I would not have you to venture thoſe papers out of your hands to me, for they may miſcarry, and I fear it would be very difficult to finde another Copy; peradventure I may ſhortly ſee you, at the Term I hope I ſhall, and then I ſhall adviſe you further the beſt I can about thoſe other Sermons you have.

I ſee you will be troubled yet a while to put things in a right way. I have drawn in my minde the *Model* of his *Life*, but I am like Mr. *HALES* in this, which was one of his *defects*, not to pen any thing, till I muſt needs.

God proſper you in your work and buſineſs you have in hand, that neither the Church nor the Author ſuffer.

Your aſſured friend to his power

Septemb.

Anthony Farindon.

SERMONS PREACHT ON SEVERAL EMINENT OCCASIONS.

By Mr. John Hales *of* Eton College.

LONDON,

Printed for Timothy Garthwait, *at the Little North-door of* St. *Pauls.*

2 Pet. 3. 16.

Which the unlearned and unſtable wreſt, as they do the other Scriptures, unto their own deſtruction.

THE love and favour which it pleaſed God to bear our Fathers before the law, ſo far prevail'd with him, as that without any books and writings, by familiar and friendly converſing with them, and communicating himſelf unto them, he made them receive and underſtand his laws: their inward conceits and intellectuals being after a wonderful manner as it were *Figured*, and *Character'd*, (as St. *Baſil* expreſſes it) by his ſpirit, ſo that they could not but ſee, and conſent unto, and confeſs the truth of them. Which way of manifeſting his will, unto many other gracious priviledges which it had, above that which in after ages came in place of it, had this added, that it brought with it unto the man, to whom it was made, a preſervation againſt all doubt and heſitancy, a full aſſurance both who the author was, and how far his intent and meaning reacht. We that are their ofspring ought, as St. *Chryſoſtome* tell us, ſo to have demeand our ſelves, that it might have been with us as it was with them, that we might have had no need of writing, no other teacher, but the ſpirit, no other books but our hearts, no other means to have been taught the things of God, *Niſi inſpirationis divinæ internam ſuaviorémque doctrinam, ubi ſine ſonis ſermonum & ſine elementis literarum, eo dulciùs quo ſecretiùs veritas loquitur*; as ſaith *Fulgentius*. Ἔγνω-

In Pſal. 28.

Hom. 1. in Mat.

L. 3. Epiſt. 106. μεγὸ τῶν γεγραμμένων δεῖσθαι, ſaith *Iſidorus Peluſiota*: for it is a great argument of our ſhame and imperfection that the holy things are written in books. For as God in anger tells the Jews, that he himſelf would not go before them as hitherto he had done, to conduct them into the promiſed land, but would leave his Angel with them as his deputy: ſo hath he dealt with us, the unhappy poſterity degenerated from the antient purity of our forefathers. When himſelf refuſed to ſpeak unto our hearts becauſe of the hardneſs of them, he then began to put his laws in writing. Which thing for a long time amongſt his own people ſeems not to have brought with it any ſenſible inconvenience. For amongſt all thoſe acts of the Jews, which God in his book hath regiſtred for our inſtruction, there is not one concerning any pretended ambiguitie or obſcurity of the Text and Letter of their Law, which might draw them into faction and ſchiſme; the Devil belike having other ſufficient advantages on which he wrought. But ever ſince the Goſpel was committed to writing, what age, what monument of the Churches acts is not full of debate and ſtrife, concerning the force and meaning of thoſe writings, which the holy Ghoſt hath left us to be the law and rule of faith? St. *Paul*, one of the firſt penmen of the Holy Ghoſt, who in Paradiſe heard words which it was not lawful for man to utter, hath left us words in writing, which it is not ſafe for any man to be too buſie to interpret. No ſooner had he laid down his pen, almoſt ere the ink was dry, were there found *Syllabarum aucupes*, ſuch as St. *Ambroſe* ſpake of, *qui neſcire aliquid erubeſcunt, & per occaſionem obſcuritatis tendunt laqueos deceptionis*, who thought there could be no greater diſparagement unto them, then to ſeem to be ignorant of any thing, and under pretence of interpreting obſcure places laid gins to entrap the uncautelous: who taking advantage of the obſcurity of St. *Pauls* text, made the letter of the Goſpel of life and peace, the moſt forcible inſtrument of mortal quarrel and contention. The growth of which, the Holy Ghoſt by the Miniſtery of St. *Peter*, hath endeavoured to cut up in the bud, and to ſtrangle in the womb, in this ſhort admonition which but now hath ſounded in your eares. *Which the unlearned*, &c. In which words, for our more orderly proceeding, we will conſider, Firſt, the ſin it ſelf that is here reprehended, wreſting of Scripture: where we will briefly conſider what it is, and what

what cauſes and motioners it findes in our corrupt underſtandings. Secondly the perſons guilty of this offence, diſcipher'd unto us in two Epithets, *unlearned*, *unſtable*. Laſt of all the danger in the laſt words, *unto their own damnation*. And firſt of the ſin it ſelf, together with ſome of the ſpecial cauſes of it.

Στρεβλοῦσι. *They wreſt.* They deal with Scripture as Chimicks deal with natural bodies, torturing them to extract that out of them which God and nature never put in them. Scripture is a rule which will not fit it ſelf to the obliquity of our conceits, but our perverſe and crooked diſcourſe, muſt fit it ſelf to the ſtraightneſs of that rule. A learned writer in the age of our fathers, commenting upon Scripture ſpake moſt truly when he ſaid, *that his Comments gave no light unto the text, the text gave light unto his Comments.* Other expoſitions may give rules and directions for underſtanding their authors, but Scripture gives rules to expoſition it ſelf, and interprets the interpreter. Wherefore when we made in Scripture, *non pro ſententia divinarum Scripturarum*, as St. Auſtine ſpeaks, *ſed pro noſtra ita dimicantes ut tam velimus Scripturarum eſſe quæ noſtra eſt*: When we ſtrive to give unto it, and not to receive from it the ſenſe: when we factiouſly contend to faſten our conceits upon God: and like the Harlot in the book of Kings, take our dead and putrified fancies, and lay them in the boſome of Scripture as of a mother, then are we guilty of this great ſin of wreſting of Scripture. The nature of which will the better appear, if we conſider a little, ſome of thoſe motioners which drive us upon it. One very potent and ſtrong mean is the exceeding affection and love unto our own opinions and conceits. For grown we are unto extremities on both hands: we cannot with patience either admit of other mens opinions, or endure that our own ſhould be withſtood. As it was in the *Lacedæmonian* army, almoſt all were Captains: ſo intheſe diſputes all will be leaders: and we take our ſelves to be muchdiſcountenanced, if others think not as we do. So that the complaint which one makes, concerning the diſſention of Phyſicians about the diſeaſes of our bodies, is true likewiſe in theſe diſputeswhich concern the cure of our ſouls, *hinc illæ circa ægros miſeræ ſententiarum concertationes, nullo idem cenſente, ne videatur acceſſio alterius.* From hence have ſprong thoſe miſerable contentions about the diſtemper of our ſouls, ſin-

Faber.

Schol. in Thucyd.

Plinie.

gularity alone, and that we will not ſeem to ſtand as cyphers to make up the ſumme of other mens opinions, being cauſe enough to make us diſagree. A fault anciently amongſt the Chriſtians ſo apparant, that it needed not an Apoſtolical ſpirit to diſcover it, the very heathen themſelves to our ſhame and confuſion, have juſtly, judiciouſly, and ſharply taxt us for it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* paſſing his cenſure upon *Conſtantius* the Emperour: *Chriſtianam religionem abſolutam & ſimplicem* (ſaith he: and they are words very well worth your marking) *Chriſtianam religionem abſolutam & ſimplicem anili ſuperſtitione confudit. In qua ſcrutanda perplexius quàm componenda gratius, excitavit diſſidia plurima, quæ progreſſa fuſius aluit concertatione verborum, dum ritum omnem ad ſuum trahere conatur arbitrium.* The Chriſtian religion, a religion of great ſimplicity and perfection, he troubled with dotage and ſuperſtition. For going about rather perplexedly to ſearch the controverſies, then gravely to compoſe them, he raiſed great ſtirs, and by diſputing ſpread them far and wide, whilſt he went about to make himſelf ſole Lord and commander of the whole profeſſion. Now (that it may appear wherefore I have noted this) it is no hard thing for a man that hath wit, and is ſtrongly poſſeſt of an opinion, and reſolute to maintain it, to finde ſome places of Scripture, which by good handling will be woed to caſt a favourable countenance upon it. *Pythagoras* Schollers having been bred up in the doctrine of numbers, when afterward they diverted upon the ſtudies of nature, fancied unto themſelves ſomewhat in natural bodies like unto numbers, and thereupon fell into a conceit that numbers were the principles of them. So fares it with him that to the reading of Scripture comes forepoſſeſt with ſome opinion. As *Antipheron Orietes* in Ariſtotle thought that every where he ſaw his own ſhape and picture going afore him: ſo in divers parts of Scripture where theſe men walk, they will eaſily perſwade themſelves that they ſee the image of their own conceits. It was, and is to this day, a faſhion in the hotter countreys, at noon, when the ſun is in his ſtrength, to retire themſelves to their Cloſets or beds, if they were at home, to cool and ſhady places if they were abroad, to avoid the inconvenience of the heat of it. To this the Spouſe in the Canticles alluding, calls after her beloved, as after a ſhepherd: *Shew me, O thou whom my ſoul loveth, where thou feedeſt thy flock, where thou doſt reſt at noon.* The

Donatiſts

Donatiſts conceiting unto themſelves that the Church was ſhut up in them alone; being urged by the fathers to ſhew how the Church being univerſal, came on a ſudden thus to be confinde to Africk: they had preſently their Scripture for it: for ſo they found it written in the Canticles: *Indica, quem diligit anima mea, ubi paſcas, ubi cubes in meridie.* In which text, *meridies* doubtleſs as they thought, was their Southern countrie of Africk, where the ſhepherd of Iſrael was, and no where elſe, to feed his flocks. I may not trouble you with inſtances in this kinde: little obſervation is able to furniſh the man of ſlendreſt reading with abundance. The texts of Scripture which are eſpecially ſubject to this abuſe, are thoſe that are of ambiguous and doubtful meaning. For as *Thucydides* obſerves of the fat and fertile places of Greece, that they were evermore the occaſions of ſtirs and ſeditions; the neighbouring nations every one ſtriving to make it ſelf Lord of them: ſo is it with theſe places that are ſo fertile, as it were, of interpretation, and yield a multiplicity of ſenſe: they are the *Palæſtra* for good wits to prove maſteries in, where every one deſires to be Lord and abſolute.

A ſecond thing occaſioning us to tranſgreſs againſt Scripture, and the diſcreet and ſober handling of it, is our too quick and ſpeedy entrance upon the practiſe of interpreting it, in our young and green years, before that time and experience have ripened us and ſetled our conceits. For that which in all other buſineſs, and here likewiſe doth moſt eſpecially commend us, is our cautelous and wary handling it. But this is a flower ſeldome ſeen in youths garden. *Ariſtotle* differencing age and youth, makes it a property of youth, πάντα εἰδέναι ὄιεσθαι καὶ διϊσχυρίζεσθαι, to ſuppoſe they know all things and to be bold in affirming: and the heathen Rhetorician could tell us, that by this ſo ſpeedy entring upon action, and ſo timely venting our crude and unconcocted ſtudies, *quod eſt ubique perniciosiſsimum, prævenit vires fiducia*, a thing which in all caſes is moſt pernicious, preſumption is greater then ſtrength, after the manner of thoſe, who are lately recovered out of ſome great ſickneſs, in whom appetite is ſtronger then digeſtion. Theſe are they who take the greateſt myſteries of Chriſtian religion to be the fitteſt arguments to ſpend themſelves upon. So *Eckius* in his *Chryſopaſſus*, a work of his ſo termed, wherein he diſcuſſes the queſtion of predeſtination, in the very entrance of his work tells us, that he therefore

enterpris'd

enterpris'd to handle this argument, becauſe forſooth he thought it to be the fitteſt queſtion in which he might *Juveniles calores exercere*. The ancient Maſters of fence amongſt the Romans were wont to ſet up a poſt, and cauſe their young Schollers to practiſe upon it, and to foin and fight with it, as with an adverſary. Inſteed of a poſt, this young fencer hath ſet himſelf up one of the deepeſt myſteries of our profeſſion to practiſe his freſhmanſhip upon. Which quality when once it findes Scripture for his object, how great inconvenience it brings with it, needs no large diſcourſe to prove. St. *Jerome*, a man not too eaſily brought on to acknowledge the errours of his writings, amongſt thoſe few things which he doth retract, cenſures nothing ſo ſharply as the miſtake of his youth in this kinde. *In adoleſcentia provocatus ardore & ſtudio Scripturarum, allegoricè interpretatus ſum Abdiam Prophetam, cujus hiſtoriam neſciebam.* He thought it one of the greateſt ſins of his youth, that being carried away through an inconſiderate heat in his ſtudies of Scripture, he adventured to interpret *Abdias* the Prophet allegorically, when as yet he knew not the hiſtorical meaning. Old men, ſaith our beſt natural maſter, by reaſon of the experience of their often miſtakes, are hardly brought conſtantly to affirm any thing, ἀλλὰ προσιθέασιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἴσως ἢ τὸ τάχα, they will always cautelouſly interline their ſpeeches, with *it may bees*, and *peradventures*, and other ſuch particles of warineſs and circumſpection. This old mens modeſty of all other things beſt fits us in peruſing thoſe hard and obſcure texts of holy Scripture. Out of which conceit it is that we ſee St. *Auſtine* in his books *de Geneſi ad literam*, to have written only by way of queſtions and interrogations, after the manner of *Ariſtotle* in his Problemes, *that he might not*, (for ſo he gives his reaſon, *by being over poſitive prejudice others, and peradventure truer interpretations: that every one might chooſe according to his likeing, & ubi quid intelligere non poteſt, Scripturæ Dei det honorem, ſibi timorem*: and where his underſtanding cannot attain unto the ſenſe of it, let him give that honour and reverence which is due unto the Scripture, and carry himſelf with that aw and reſpect which befits him. Wherefore not without eſpecial providence it is, that the Holy Ghoſt by St. *Paul* giving precepts to *Timothy*, concerning the quality of thoſe who were to be admitted to the diſtributing of Gods holy word, expreſly preſcribes againſt a *young Scholler*, *leaſt* ſaith he, *he be puft up*. For

as

as it hath been noted of men, who are lately grown rich, that they differ from other rich men only in this, τῷ ἅπαντα μᾶλλον καὶ ραυλότερα κακὰ ἔχειν τὸς νεοπλούτους, that commonly they have all the faults, that rich men have and many more: ſo is it as true in thoſe who have lately attaind to ſome degree and mediocrity of knowledge. Look what infirmities learned men have, the ſame have they in greater degree, and many more beſides. Wherefore if *Hippocrates* in his Phyſician required theſe two things, φιλοπονίην, καὶ πολυχρονίην, great induſtry and long experience, the one as tillage to ſow the ſeed, the other as time and ſeaſon of the year to bring it to maturity: then certainly by ſo much the more are theſe two required in the ſpirituall Phyſician, by how much he is the Phyſician to a more excellent part. *Arist. Rhet. 2.*

I will add yet one third motioner to this abuſe of Scriptures, and that is the too great preſumption upon the ſtrength & ſubtilty of our own wits. That wch the Roman Prieſt ſomtimes told an over pleaſant, and witty veſtal Virgin, *Coli Deos ſanctè magis quam ſcitè*, hath in this great work of expoſition of Scripture an eſpecial place. The holy things of God muſt be handled *ſanctè, magis quàm ſcitè*, with fear and reverence, not with wit and daliance. The dangerous effects of this have appeared, not in the green tree only, in young heads, but in men of conſtant age, and great place in the Church. For this was that which undid *Origen*, a man of as great learning and induſtry, as ever the Church had any; whilſt in ſublimity of his wit, in his Comments on Scripture, conceiving Meteors and airy ſpeculations, he brought forth thoſe dangerous errors, which drew upon his perſon the Churches heavieſt cenſure; and upon poſterity the loſs of his works. Subtil witted men in nothing ſo much miſcarry as in the too much pleaſing themſelves in the goodneſs of their own conceits; where the like ſometimes befals them which befel *Xuxis* the Painter, who having to the life pictured an old woman, ſo pleas'd himſelf with the conceit of his work that he died with laughing at it. *Heliodor* Biſhop of *Tricca* in *Theſſaly*, the Author of the *Æthiopick ſtory*, a polite and elegant I confeſs, but a looſe and wanton work, being ſummon'd by a Provincial Synod, was told, that which was true, that his work did rather endanger the manners then profit the wits of his Reader, as nouriſhing looſe and wanton conceits in the heads of youth: and having his choice *Nicephorus.*

given

given him either to aboliſh his work, or to leave his Biſhoprick; not willing to looſe the reputation of wit, choſe rather to reſign his place in the Church, and, as I verily think, his part in Heaven. And not in private perſons alone, but even in whole nations, ſhall we finde remarkable examples of miſcarriage in this kind. The Grecians, till barbariſm began to ſteal in upon them, were men of wonderous ſubtlety of wit, and naturally over indulgent unto themſelves in this quality. Thoſe deep and ſubtil hereſies concerning the Trinity, the Divinity of Chriſt and of the holy Ghoſt, the Union and Diviſion of the Divine Subſtance and Perſons, were all of them begotten in the heat of their wits; yea, by the ſtrength of them were they conceived, and born and brought to that growth, that if it had been poſſible for the gates of Hell to prevail againſt the Church, they would have prevailed this way. Wherefore as God dealt with his own land, wch being ſometimes the mirrour of the world for fertility and abundance of all things, now lies ſubject to many curſes, and eſpecially to that of barrenneſs: ſo at this day is it with Greece Where ſometimes was the flow and luxury of wit, now is there nothing but extream barbariſm and ſtupidity. It is in this reſpect ſo degenerated, that it ſcarſly for ſome hundreth of years hath brought forth a childe that carries any ſhew of his Fathers countenance. God as it were purpoſely plaguing their miſerable poſterity with extream want of that, the abundance of which their fathers did ſo wantonly abuſe. The reaſon of all, that hitherto I have in this point delivered, is this, Sharpneſs of wit hath commonly with it two ill companions, pride, and levity. By the firſt it comes to paſs that men know not how to yield to another mans reaſonable poſitions; by the ſecond, they know not how to keep themſelves conſtant to their own. It was an excellent obſervation of the wiſe Grecian, φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c. *Sad and dull ſpirited men uſually manage matters of State better then quick and nimble wits.* For ſuch for the moſt part have not learnt that leſſon, the meaning of that voice that came to the *Pythagorean*, that was deſirous to remove the aſhes of his dead friend out of his graye, μὴ κινεῖσθαι τὰ ἀκίνητα, *things lawfully ſetled and compoſed muſt not be moved.* ἀνεπιτήδειος φύσει πρὸς ἀρχὴν δῆμος πολυπράγμων ἀνὴρ, ſaith, *Iulian. Men over buſie are by nature unfit to govern.* For they move all things, and leave nothing without queſtion and innovation,

Thucyd.

on, τῦ δεξιᾶ ποιέμενοί τι δεξιώτερον, as *Nazianzen* ſpeaks, out of deſire to amend what is already well. And therefore we ſee that for the moſt part ſuch, if they be in place of Authority, by unſeaſonable and unneceſſary tampering, put all things into tumult, and combuſtion. Not the Common wealth alone, but the Church likewiſe hath receiv'd the like blow from theſe kinde of men. *Nazianzene* in his ſix and twentieth Oration, diſcourſing concerning the diſorders committed in the handling of Controverſies, ſpeaks it plainly: φύσεις θερμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι ταύτης τῆς ταραχῆς αἴτιον, &c. *Great wits, hot and fiery diſpoſitions have raiſed theſe tumults. From theſe it is* (ſaith he) *that Chriſtians are ſo divided. We are no longer a tribe and a tribe, Iſrael and Judah, two parts of a ſmall nation: but we are divided kindred againſt kindred, family againſt family, yea, a man againſt himſelf.* But I muſt haſten to my ſecond general part, *the perſons here accounted guilty of abuſe of Scripture.*

The perſons are noted unto us in two Epithets, *unlearned, unſtable.* First, *unlearned*, It was Sain *Jeroms* complaint, that practitioners of other Arts could contain themſelves within the bounds of their own Profeſſion, *Sola Scripturarum ars eſt, quam ſibi omnes paſſim vendicant. Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus ſenex, hanc ſophiſta verboſus, hanc univerſi præſumunt, lacerant, docent antequam diſcant*: every one preſumes much upon his skill, and therefore to be a teacher of Scripture: ὡς κινδυνεύειν τεχνῶδέιον εἶναι τὸ μέγα ἡμῶν μυςήριον, (ſo *Nazianzen* ſpeaks) as if this great myſtery of Chriſtianity were but ſome one of the common, baſe, inferior, and contemptible trades. I ſpeak not this as if I envied that all even the meaneſt of the Lords people ſhould propheſie: but onely that all kinde of men may know their bounds, that no unlearned beaſt touch the hill, leaſt he be thruſt through with a dart. It is true which we have heard, *ſurgunt indocti & rapiunt regnum cœlorum*: they ariſe indeed, but it is as Saint *Paul* ſpeaks of the reſurrection, *every man in his own order.* Scripture is given to all, to learn: but to teach, and to interpret, onely to a few. This bold intruſion therefore of the unlearned into the chair of the teacher, is that which here with our bleſſed Apoſtle I am to reprehend. *Learning* in general is nothing elſe but the competent skill of any man in whatſoever he profeſſes. Uſually we call by this name onely our polite and Academical ſtudies: but indeed it is common to *every one, that is well* skild, well pra-

diſed in his own myſtery. The unlearned therefore, whom here our Apoſtle rebukes, is not he that hath not read a multiplicity of Authors: or that is not as Moſes was, skilful in all the learning of the Ægyptians: but he that taking upon him to divide the word of God, is yet but raw and unexperienced; or if he have had experience, wants judgment to make uſe of it. Scripture is never ſo unhappy, as when it falls into theſe mens fingers. That which old *Cato* ſaid of the Grecian Phyſicians, *quandocunque iſta gens literas ſuas dabit, omnia corrumpet*, is moſt true of theſe men; whenſoever they ſhall begin to tamper with Scripture, and vent in writing their raw conceits, they will corrupt and defile all they touch. *Quid enim moleſtiæ triſtitiæque temerarii iſti præſumptores, &c.* as S. *Auſtine* complaineth: *for what trouble and anguiſh theſe raſh preſumers* (ſaith he) *bring unto the diſcreeter ſort of the brethren, cannot ſufficiently be expreſt: when being convinced of their rotten and ungrounded opinions; for the maintaining of that which with great levity and open falſhood they have averd, they pretend the authority of theſe ſacred books, and repeat much of them even by heart, as bearing witneſs to what they hold: whereas indeed they do but pronounce the words, but underſtand not either what they ſpeak, or of what things they do affirm.* Be-like as he that bought *Orpheus* Harp, thought it would of it ſelf make admirable melody, how unskilfully ſoever he toucht it: ſo theſe men ſuppoſe that Scripture will ſound wonderful muſically, if they do but ſtrike it, with how great infelicity or incongruity ſoever it be. The reaſon of theſe mens offence againſt Scripture, is the ſame with the cauſe of their miſcarriage in civil actions, ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, ſaith *Thucydides*, λογισμὸς δ' ὄκνον φέρει. *Rude men, men of little experience, are commonly moſt peremptory: but men experienced, and ſuch as have waded in buſineſs, are ſlow of determination.* *Quintilian* making a queſtion, why unlearned men ſeem many times to be more copious then the learned (for commonly ſuch men never want matter of diſcourſe) anſwers that it is becauſe whatſoever conceit comes into their heads, without care or choice they broach it, *cum doctis ſit electio & modus*: whereas learned men are choice in their invention, and lay by much of that which offers it ſelf. *Wiſe hearted men, in whom the Lord hath put wiſdom and underſtanding to know how to work all manner of work for the ſervice of the ſanctuary*, like *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, refuſe much of the ſtuff which

De Geneſi ad literam.

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is preſented them. But this kinde of men whom here our Apoſtle notes, are naturally men of bold and daring ſpirits, *quicquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant*, as Saint *Jerome* ſpeaks, whatſoever conceit is begotten in their heads, the *ſpirit* of God is preſently the father of it: *Nec ſcire dignantur quid Prophetæ, quid Apoſtoli ſenſerint, ſed ad ſuum ſenſum incongrua aptant teſtimonia.* But to leave theſe men, and to ſpeak a little more home unto mine own auditory: Let us a little conſider, not the weakneſs of theſe men but the greatneſs of the buſineſs, the manage of which they undertake. So great a thing as the skill of expoſition of the word and Goſpel is, ſo fraught with multiplicity of Authors, ſo full of variety of opinion, muſt needs be confeſt to be a matter of great learning, and that it cannot, eſpecially in our days, in ſhort time with a mediocrity of induſtry be attained. For if in the Apoſtles times, when as yet much of Scripture was ſcarſly written, when God wrought with men miraculouſly to inform their underſtanding and ſupplied by revelation what mans induſtry could not yield; if I ſay in theſe times St. *Paul* required *diligent reading*, and expreſly forbad greenneſs of ſchollarſhip: much more then are theſe conditions required in our times, wherein God doth not ſupply by miracle our natural defects, and yet the burden of our profeſſion is infinitely increaſt. All that was neceſſary in the Apoſtles times is now neceſſary and much more. For if we adde unto the growth of Chriſtian learning, as it was in the Apoſtles times, but this one circumſtance (to ſay nothing of all the reſt) which naturally befals our times, and could not be required at the hands of thoſe who guided the firſt ages of the Church: that is, the knowledge of the ſtate and ſucceſſion of doctrine in the Church from time to time; a thing very neceſſary for the determining the controverſies of theſe our days: how great a portion of our labour and induſtry would this alone require? Wherefore if *Quintilian* thought it neceſſary to admoniſh young men that they ſhould not preſume themſelves *ſatis inſtructos, ſi quem ex iis, qui breves circumferuntur, artis libellum edidicerint, & velut decretis technicorum tutos putent*: if he thought fit thus to do in an art of ſo inferiour and narrow a ſphere; much more is it behooveful that young ſtudents in ſo high, ſo ſpacious, ſo large a profeſſion, be adviſed nor to think themſelves ſufficiently provided upon their acquaintance with ſome *Notitia*, or Syſteme of ſome

technical divine. Look upon thoſe ſons of *Anak*, thoſe Giant-like voluminous writers of Rome; in regard of whom our little tractats and pocket volumes in this kinde, what are they but as *Graſhoppers*? I ſpeak not this like ſome ſeditious or factious ſpie, to bring weakneſs of hands, or melting of heart upon any of Gods people: but ὥστε ἀναζωπυρεῖν, to ſtir up and kindle in you the ſpirit of induſtry to inlarge your conceits, and not to ſuffer your labours to be copſt and mued up within the poverty of ſome pretended method. I will ſpeak as *Joſhua* did to his people, *Let us not fear the people of that land, they are as meat unto us, their ſhadow is departed from them: the Lord is with us, fear them not.* Only let us not think, *ſedendo & votis debellari poſſe*, that the conqueſt will be gotten by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing all were well: or that the walls of theſe ſtrong Cities, will fall down, if we only walk about them, and blow rams horns. But as the voice of Gods people ſometime was, *by the ſword of God and of Gideon*, ſo that which here gives the victory muſt be the grace of God and our induſtry. For by this circumciſed, narrow and penurious form of ſtudy, we ſhall be no more able to keep pace with them, then a childe can with *Hercules*. but I forbear and paſs away unto the ſecond epithet, by which theſe rackers of Scriptures, are by St. *Peter* ſtiled *Vaſtable*.

Livie

IN the learning which the world teaches, it were almoſt a miracle to finde a man conſtant to his own tenents. For not to doubt in things in which we are converſant, is either by reaſon of excellency and ſerenity of underſtanding throughly apprehending the main principles on which all things are grounded, together with the diſcrying of the ſeveral paſſages from them unto particular concluſions, and the diverticles and blind by-paths which Sophiſtry and deceit are wont to tread: and ſuch a man can nature never yield: or elſe it is through a ſenſeleſs ſtupidity, like unto that in the common ſort of men, who converſing among the creatures, and beholding the courſe of heaven, and the heavenly hoſt, yet never attend them, neither ever ſinks it into their heads to marvel, or queſtion theſe things ſo full of doubt and difficulty. Even ſuch a one is he, that learns Theology in the School of nature, if he ſeem to participate of any ſetledneſs or compoſedneſs of conſcience. Either it never comes into his head to doubt of any of thoſe things, with which the world hath inured him: or if it doth, it is to no great purpoſe, he may

may ſmother and ſtrangle, he can never reſolve his doubt. The reaſon of which is this. It lies not in the worlds power to give in this caſe a text of ſufficient authority to compoſe and fix the thoughts of a ſoul, that is diſpos'd to doubt. But this great inconvenience which held the world in uncertainty, by the providence of God is prevented in the Church. For unto it is left a certain, undoubted, and ſufficient authority, able to exalt every valley, and lay low every hill, to ſmooth all rubs, and make our way ſo open and paſſable, that little enquiry ſerves. So that as it were a wonder in the ſchool of nature to finde one ſetled and reſolved: ſo might it ſeem a marvel that in the Church any man is unſtable, unreſolved. Yet notwithſtanding even here is the unſtable man found too, and to his charge the Apoſtle lays this ſin of wreſting of Scripture. For ſince that it is confeſt at all hands, that the *ſenſe* and meaning of Scripture is the rule and ground of our Chriſtian tenents, whenſoever we alter them, we muſt needs give a new ſenſe unto the word of God. So that the man that is unſtable in his religion can never be free from violating of Scripture. The eſpecial cauſe of this levity and flitting diſpoſition in the common and ordinary ſort of men, is their diſability to diſcern of the ſtrength of ſuch reaſons, as may be framed againſt them. For which cauſe they uſually ſtart, and many times falls away, upon every objection that is made. In which too ſudden entertainment of objections, they reſemble the ſtate of thoſe, who are lately recovered out of ſome long ſickneſs, *qui et ſi reliquias effugerint, ſuſpicionibus tamen inquietantur, & omnem calorem corporis ſui calumniantur*: Who never more wrong themſelves then by ſuſpecting every alteration of their temper, and being affrighted at every little paſſion of heat, as if it were an ague-fit. *Seneca.* To bring theſe men therefore unto an εὐθυμία, and to purchaſe them a ſetledneſs of minde; that temper that St. *Auſtine* doth require in him that reads his book, *tales meorum Scriptorem velim judices, qui reſponſionem non ſemper deſiderent, quum his quæ leguntur audierint aliquid contradici*: the ſame temper muſt be found in every reader of Scripture, he muſt not be at a ſtand and require an anſwer to every objection that is made againſt them. For as the Philoſopher tells us that mad and fantaſtical men, are very apprehenſive of all outward accidents, becauſe their ſoul is inwardly empty and unfurniſhed of any thing of worth which might hold the inward attention of

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their mindes: ſo when we are ſo eaſily dord and amated with every Sophiſme, it is a certain argument of great defect of inward furniture and worth, which ſhould as it were ballance the minde and keep it upright againſt all outward occurrents whatſoever. And be it that many times the means to open ſuch doubts be not at hand, yet as *S. Auſtine* ſometime ſpake unto his Scholler *Licentius* concerning ſuch advice and counſel as he had given him: *Nolo te cauſas rationeſque rimari, quæ etiamſi reddi poſsint, fidei tamen, qua mihi credis non eas debeo*: ſo much more muſt we thus reſolve of thoſe leſſons which God teacheth us: the reaſons and grounds of them, though they might be given, yet it fits not that credit and truſt which we owe him, once to ſearch into, or call in queſtion. And ſo I come to the third general part, the danger of wreſting of Scripture, in the laſt words, *unto their own damnation.*

The reward of every ſin is death. As the worm eats out the heart of the plant that bred it: ſo whatſoever is done amiſs naturally works no other end, but deſtruction of him that doth it. As this is true in general, ſo is it as true, that when the Scripture doth preciſely note out unto us ſome ſin, and threatens death unto it, it is commonly an argument, that there is more then ordinary, that there is ſome eſpecial ſin, which ſhall draw with it ſome eſpecial puniſhment. This ſin of wreſting of Scripture in the eye of ſome of the ancients ſeemed ſo ougly, that they have ranged it in the ſame rank with the ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt. And therefore have they pronounced it a ſin, μεῖζον συγγνώμης, greater then can be pardoned. For the moſt part of other ſins, are ſins of infirmity or ſimplicity, but this is a ſin of wit and ſtrength. The man that doth it, doth it with a high hand; he knows, and ſees, and reſolves upon it. Again, Scripture is the voice of God: and it is confeſt by all that the ſenſe is Scripture, rather then the words. It cannot therefore be avoided, but he that wilfully ſtrives to faſten ſome ſenſe of his own upon it, other then the very nature of the place will bear, muſt needs take upon him the Perſon of God, and become a new inditer of Scripture: and all that applaud and give conſent unto any ſuch, in effect cry the ſame that the people did to Herod, *the voice of God, and not of man.* If he then that abaſes the Princes coin deſerves to die, what is his deſert that inſtead of the tried ſilver of Gods word ſtamps the name

Iſidorus Peluſiota.

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and Character of God upon *Nehuſhtan*, upon baſe brazen ſtuff of his own? Thirdly, *No Scripture is of private interpretation*, ſaith the Apoſtle. There can therefore be but two certain, and infallible interpreters of Scripture: either it ſelf; or the holy Ghoſt the Author of it. It ſelf doth then expound it ſelf, when the words and circumſtances do ſound unto us the prime, and natural, and principal ſenſe. But when the place is obſcure, involved and intricate, or when there is contained ſome ſecret and hidden myſtery, beyond the prime ſenſe; infallibly to ſhew us this, there can be no Interpreter but the holy Ghoſt that gave it. Beſides theſe *two*, all other Interpretation is private. Wherefore as the Lords of the Philiſtines ſometimes ſaid of the kine that drew the Ark unto *Bethſhemeſh*; *If they go of themſelves, then is this from God; but if they go another way, then is it not from God, it is ſome chance that hath happened unto us*: ſo may it be ſaid of all pretended ſenſe of Scripture. If Scripture come unto it of it ſelf, then is it of God: but if it go another way, or if it be violently urged and goaded on, then is it but a matter of chance, of mans wit and invention. As for thoſe marvellous diſcourſes of ſome, framed upon preſumption of the *ſpirits* help in private, in judging or Interpreting of difficult places of Scripture, I muſt needs confeſs I have often wondred at the boldneſs of them. The *ſpirit* is a thing of dark and ſecret operation, the manner of it none can deſcry. As underminers are never ſeen till they have wrought their purpoſe; ſo the ſpirit is never perceived but by its effects. The effects of the ſpirit (as far as they concern knowledge and inſtruction) are not particular Information for reſolution in any doubtful caſe (for this were plainly revelation) but as the Angel, which was ſent unto *Cornelius*, informs him not, but ſends him to *Peter* to School: ſo the ſpirit teaches not, but ſtirs up in us a deſire to learn: Deſire to learn makes us thirſt after the means: and pious ſedulity and carefulneſs, makes us watchful in the choice, and diligent in the uſe of our means. The promiſe to the Apoſtles of the Spirit which ſhould lead them into all truth, was made good unto them by private and ſecret informing their underſtandings, with the knowledge of high and heavenly myſteries, which as yet had never entred into the conceit of any man. The ſame promiſe is made to us, but fulfilled after another manner. For what was written by revelation in their

2 Pet. 1:20.

hearts,

hearts, for our inſtruction have they written in their books. To us for information, otherwiſe then out of theſe books, the ſpirit ſpeaks not. When the ſpirit regenerates a man, it infuſes no knowledge of any point of faith, but ſends him to the Church and to the Scriptures. When it ſtirs him up to newneſs of life, it exhibits not unto him an inventory of his ſins, as hitherto unknown; but either ſuppoſes them known in the law of nature, of which no man can be ignorant; or ſends him to learn them from the mouth of his teachers. More then this in the ordinary proceeding of the holy ſpirit, in matter of inſtruction, I yet could never deſcrie. So that to ſpeak of the help of the *ſpirit* in private, either in dijudicating, or in interpreting of Scripture, is to ſpeak they know not what. Which I do the rather note, firſt, becauſe by experience we have learnt, how apt men are to call their private conceits, the ſpirit: and again, becauſe it is the eſpecial errour, with which S. *Auſtine* long agoe charged this kinde of men: *tanto ſunt ad ſeditionem faciliores, quanto ſibi videntur ſpiritu excellere*: by ſo much the more prone are they to kindle ſchiſme and contention in the Church, by how much they ſeem to themſelves to be endued with a more eminent meaſure of ſpirit then their brethren; whilſt ἐν προσποιήσει ἐξηγήσεως τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεισάγουσιν, (as St. *Baſils* ſpeaks) *under preteníe of interpretation they violently broach their own conceits.* Great then is the danger in which they wade, which take upon them this buſineſs of interpretation. *temeritas aſſerendæ incertæ dubiæque opinionis*, ſaith St. *Auſtine*, *difficile ſacrilegii crimen evitat*: the raſhneſs of thoſe that aver uncertain and doubtful interpretations for Catholick and abſolute, can hardly eſcape the ſin of ſacrilege.

But whereas our Apoſtle ſaith, *their own deſtruction*, is the deſtruction only their own? This were well if it ſtretched no farther. The ancients much complain of this offence, as an hinderer of the ſalvation of others. There were in the days of *Iſidorus Peluſiota* ſome that gave out that all in the old Teſtament was ſpoken of Chriſt: belike out of extream oppoſition to the *Manichees*, who on the otherſide taught, that no text in the old Teſtament did foretel of Chriſt. That Father therefore dealing with ſome of that opinion, tells them how great the danger of their tenent is. τὰ γὰρ μὴ εἰς αὐτὸν εἰρημένα ἐκβιαζόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀδιδύκτως εἰρημένα ὑποπλέκεσθαι παρασκευάζουσιν, *for if*, ſaith he, *we ſtrive with violence to draw and apply*

ply thoſe texts to Chriſt, which apparantly pertain not to him, we ſhall gain nothing but this, to make all the places that are ſpoken of him ſuſpected; and ſo diſcredit the ſtrength of other teſtimonies, which the Church uſually urges for the refutation of the Jews. For in theſe caſes a wreſted proof is like unto a ſuborn'd witneſs. It never doth help ſo much whileſt it is preſumed to be ſtrong, as it doth hurt when it is diſcovered to be weak. S. *Auſtine* in his books *de Geneſi ad litteram*, ſharply reproves ſome Chriſtians, who out of ſome places of Scripture miſunderſtood, fram'd unto themſelves a kinde of knowledge in Aſtronomy and Phyſiology, quite contrary unto ſome part of heathen learning in this kinde, which were true and evident unto ſenſe. A man would think that this were but a ſmall errour, and yet he doubts not to call it, *turpe nimis, & pernicioſum & maximè cavendum.* His reaſon warrants the roundneſs of his reproof. For he charges ſuch to have been a ſcandal unto the word, and hinderers of the converſion of ſome heathen men that were ſchollars. *For how,* ſaith he, *ſhall they believe our books of Scripture perſwading the reſurrection of the dead, the kingdome of heaven, and the reſt of the myſteries of our profeſſion, if they finde them faulty in theſe things, of which themſelves have undeniable demonſtration?* Yea though the cauſe we maintain be never ſo good, yet the iſſue of diſeas'd and crazie proofs brought to maintain it, muſt needs be the ſame. For unto all cauſes, be they never ſo good, weakneſs of proof, when it is diſcovered, brings great prejudice, but unto the cauſe of religion moſt of all. St. *Auſtine* obſerv'd that there were ſome *qui cum de aliquibus, qui ſanctum nomen profitentur aliquid criminis vel falſi ſonuerit, vel veri patuerit, inſtant, ſatagunt, ambiunt ut de omnibus hoc credatur.* It fares no otherwiſe with religion it ſelf, then it doth with the profeſſors of it. Diverſe malignants there are, who lie in wait to eſpie where our reaſons on which we build are weak, and having deprehended it in ſome, will earneſtly ſolicit the world to believe that all are ſo, if means were made to bring it to light: ἐκ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων δόγμασι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέρων σαθροῖς ταύτην θηρεύοντες, as *Nazianzen* ſpeaks: uſing for advantage againſt us no ſtrength of their own, but the vice and imbecillity of our defence. The book of the Revelation is a book full of wonder and myſtery: the ancients ſeem to have made a religion to meddle with it, and thought it much better to admire it with ſilence, then to adventure to ex-

pound it: and therefore amongſt their labours in expoſition of Scripture, ſcarſly is there any one found that hath toucht it. But our age hath taken better heart. and ſcarſly any one is there who hath entertained a good conceit of his own abilities, but he hath taken that book as a fit argument to ſpend his pains on. That the Church of Rome hath great cauſe to ſuſpect her ſelf, to fear leaſt ſhe have a great part in the propheſies of that book, I think the moſt partial will not deny. Yet unto the expoſitors of it, I will give this advice, that they look that that befal not them, which *Thucidides* obſerves to befal the common ſort of men: who though they have good means to acquit themſelves like men, yet when they think their beſt hopes fail them, and begin to deſpair of their ſtrength, comfort themſelves with interpretations of certain dark and obſcure propheſies. Many plain texts of Scripture are very pregnant, and of ſufficient ſtrength to overthrow the points maintained by that Church againſt us. If we leave theſe, & ground our ſelves upon our private expoſitions of this book, we ſhall juſtly ſeem in the poverty of better proofs, to reſt our ſelves upon thoſe propheſies; which, though in themſelves they are moſt certain, yet our expoſitions of them muſt, (except God give yet further light unto his Church) neceſſarily be mixt with much uncertainty, as being at the beſt but unprobable conjectures of our own. Scarſly can there be found a thing more harmful to religion, then to vent thus our own conceits, and obtrude them upon the world for neceſſary and abſolute. The Phyſicians skill as I conceive of it, ſtands as much on opinion, as any that I know, whatſoever. Yet their greateſt maſter *Hippocrates* tells them directly: ὅπαις γὰρ μάλιστα ἐν ἰήτρικῇ, &c. *Then the Phyſicians preſumption upon opinion, there is not one thing that brings either more blame to himſelf or danger to his patient.* If it be thus in an art which opinion taken away, muſt needs fall; how little room then muſt opinion have in that knowledge, where nothing can have place but what is of eternal truth? Where if once we admit of opinion all is overthrown? But I conclude this point, adding only this general admonition, that we be not too peremptory in our poſitions, where expreſs text of Scripture fails us: that we lay not our own collections and concluſions with too much precipitancy. For experience hath ſhewed us, that the error and weakneſs of them being afterwards diſcovered brings great diſadvantage

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to Chriſtianity, and trouble to the Church. The Eaſtern Church before *S. Baſils* time, had entertained generally a conceit, that that thoſe Greek Particles, ἐν, σὺν, διὰ, and the reſt, were ſo divided among the Trinity, that each of the Perſons had his Particle which was no way appliable to the reſt. *S. Baſil* having diſcovered this to be but a niceneſs and needleſs curioſity, beginning to teach ſo, raiſed in the Church ſuch a tumult, that he brought upon himſelf a great labour of writing many tracts in Apology for himſelf, with much ado, ere matters could again be ſetled. The fault of this was not in *Baſil*, who Religiouſly fearing what by way of conſequence might enſue upon an error, taught a truth; but in the Church, who formerly had with too much facility admitted a concluſion ſo juſtly ſubject to exception. And let this ſuffice for our third part.

Now becauſe it is apparant that the end of this our Apoſtles admonition is to give the Church a caveat how ſhe behave her ſelf in handling of Scripture, give me leave a little, inſtead of the uſe of ſuch doctrines as I have formerly laid down, to ſhew you, as far as my conceit can ſtretch, what courſe any man may take to ſave himſelf from offering violence unto Scripture, and reaſonably ſettle himſelf, any pretended obſcurity of the text whatſoever notwithſtanding. For which purpoſe the diligent obſerving of two rules ſhall be throughly available. First, *The literal, plain, and uncontroverſable meaning of Scripture without any addition or ſupply by way of interpretation, is that alone which for ground of faith we are neceſsarily bound to accept, except it be there where the holy Ghoſt himſelf treads us out another way.* I take not this to be any peculiar conceit of mine, but that unto which our Church ſtands neceſſarily bound. When we receded from the Church of *Rome*, one motive was, becauſe ſhe added unto Scripture her gloſſes as Canonical, to ſupply what the plain text of Scripture could not yield. If in place of hers, we ſet up our own gloſſes, thus to do, were nothing elſe but to pull down Baal, and ſet up an Ephod; to run round, and meet the Church of Rome again in the ſame point, in which at firſt we left her. But the plain, evident and demonſtrative ground of this rule, is this. That authority which doth warrant our faith unto us, muſt every way be free from all poſſibility of errour. For let us but once admit of this, that there is any poſſibility that any one point

of faith ſhould not be true; if it be once granted that I may be deceived in what I have believed; how can I be aſſur'd that in the end I ſhall not be deceived? If the author of faith may alter: or if the evidence and aſſurance that he hath left us be not pregnant, and impoſſible to be defeated, there is neceſſarily opened an inlet to doubtfulneſs and wavering, which the nature of faith excludes. That faith therefore may ſtand unſhaken, two things are of neceſſity to concur. First, that the Author of it be ſuch a one, as can by no means be deceived, and this can be none but God. Secondly, that the words and text of this Author upon whom we ground, muſt admit of no ambiguity, no uncertainty of interpretation. *If the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall provide himſelf to battle.* If the words admit a double ſenſe, and I follow one, who can aſſure me that that which I follow is the truth? For infallibility either in judgement, or interpretation, or whatſoever, is annext neither to the See of any Biſhop, nor to the Fathers, nor to the Councels, nor to the Church, nor to any created power whatſoever. This doctrine of the literal ſenſe was never greivous or prejudicial to any, but onely to thoſe who were inwardly conſcious, that their poſitions were not ſufficiently grounded. When *Cardinal Cajetan* in the days of our grandfathers had forſaken that vein of poſtilling and allegoriſing on Scripture, which for a long time had prevailed in the Church, and betaken himſelf unto the literal ſenſe: it was a thing ſo diſtaſtful unto the Church of Rome, that he was forc'd to find out many ſhifts, and make many apologies for himſelf. The truth is (as it will appear to him that reads his writings) this ſticking cloſe to the literal ſenſe was that alone, which made him to ſhake many of thoſe tenents, upon which the Church of Rome and the Reformed Churches differ. But when the importunity of the Reformers, and the great credit of *Calvins* writings in that kinde, had forced the Divines of Rome to level their interpretations by the ſame line: when they ſaw that no pains, no ſubtlety of wit was ſtrong enough to defeat the literal evidence of Scripture: it drave them on thoſe deſperate ſhelves, on which at this day they ſtick, to call in queſtion, as far as they durſt, the credit of the Hebrew text, and countenance againſt it a corrupt tranſlation; to add traditions unto Scripture; and to make the Churches interpretation, ſo pretended, to be above exception. As for that

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reſtriction which is uſually added to this rule, that the literal ſenſe is to be taken, if no abſurdity follow, though I acknowledge it to be ſound and good, yet my adviſe is that we entertain it warily. S. *Baſil* thought the precept of Chriſt to the rich man in the Goſpel, *Go ſell all thou haſt and give unto the poor*, to be ſpoken as a command univerſally and eternally binding all Chriſtians without exception. And making this objection, how poſſibly ſuch a life could be amongſt Chriſtians, ſince where all are ſellars, none could be buyers: μὴ ἐρώτα με (ſaith he) τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δεσποτικῶν προσταγμάτων, &c. *Ask not me the ſenſe of my Lords commands. He that gave the Law, can provide to give it poſſibility of being kept without any abſurdity at all.* Which ſpeech, howſoever we may ſuppoſe the occaſion of it to be miſtaken; yet is it of excellent uſe, to repreſs our boldneſs, whereby many times, under pretence of ſome inconvenience, we hinder Scripture from that latitude of ſenſe, of which it is naturally capable. You know the ſtory of the Roman Captain in *Gellius*, and what he told the Shipwright, that choſe rather to interpret, then to execute his Lords command: *Corrumpi atque diſſolvi omne imperantis officium, ſi quis ad id quod facere juſſus eſt non obſequio debito, ſed conſilio non deſiderato reſpondeat.* It will certainly in the end prove ſafer for us to entertain Gods Commandments *obſequio debito*, then to interpret them *acumine non deſiderato*. Thoſe other ways of interpretation, whether it be by allegorizing, or alluſion or whatſoever, the beſt that can be ſaid of them is that which *Baſil* hath pronounced: ὡς κεκομψευμένον μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχόμεθα· ἀληθῆ δὲ εἶναι οὐ πάνυ δώσομεν. *We account of them as of trim, elegant, and witty ſpeeches, but we refuſe to accept of them, as of undoubted truths.* And though of ſome part of theſe that may be ſaid which one ſaid of his own work, *quod ad uſum luſi, quod ad moleſtiam laboravi*, in reſpect of any profit comes by them, they are but ſport, but in reſpect of the pains taken in making of them they are labor & travel: yet much of them is of excellent uſe in private: either to raiſe our affections, or to ſpend our meditations, or (ſo it be with modeſty) to practiſe our gifts of wit to the honor of him that gave them. For if we abſolutely condemn theſe interpretations, then muſt we condemn a great part of antiquity, who are very

Auſonius in monoſyl.

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very much converſant in this kinde of interpreting. For the moſt partial for antiquity cannot chuſe but ſee and confeſs thus much, that for the literal ſenſe the Interpreters of our own times, becauſe of their skill in the Original Languages, their care of preſſing the circumſtances and coherence of the text; of comparing like places of Scripture with like, have generally ſurpaſt the beſt of the ancients. Which I ſpeak not to diſcountenance antiquity, but that all ages, all perſons may have their due. And let this ſuffice for our firſt rule.

The Jewiſh *Rabbins* in their Comments on Scripture ſo oft as they met with hard and intricate texts, out of which they could not wreſt themſelves, were wont to ſhut up their diſcourſe with this, *Elias cum venerit, ſolvet dubia*: Elias ſhall anſwer this doubt when he comes. Not the Jews only, but the Learned Chriſtians of all ages have found many things in Scripture which yet expect *Elias*. For beſides thoſe texts of Scriptures, which by reaſon of the hidden treaſures of wiſdom, and depth of ſenſe and myſtery laid up in them, are not yet conceived, there are in Scripture of things that are ὄντως πρότερα, *ſeemingly confus'd*, ἐναντιοφανῆ, *carrying ſemblance of contrariety, anachroniſms, metachroniſms*, and the like, which bring infinite obſcurity to the text: there are I ſay in Scripture more of them, then in any writing that I know ſecular or Divine. If we mean not to ſettle our ſelves till all theſe things are anſwered, let us take heed leaſt the like be ſaid to us, which S. *Auſtine* ſaid to ſome of the Gentiles, who refuſed to believe till all objections were ſatisfied *ſunt enim innumerabiles quæ non ſunt finiendæ ante fidem, ne vita finiatur ſine fide.* The *Areopagites* in *Athens*, when they were troubled in a doubtful caſe in which they durſt not proceed to ſentence, were wont *cauſam in diem longiſſimam differre*, to put it off till a day of hearing for ſome hundreth years after, avoiding by this means the further being importun'd with the ſuit. To quiet our ſelves in theſe doubts it will be our beſt way *in diem longiſſimam differre*, to put them to ſome day of hearing a far off, even till that great day, till Chriſt our true *Elias* ſhall come, who at his comming ſhall anſwer all our doubts, and ſettle all our waverings. Mean while till our *Elias* come, let us make uſe of this ſecond rule, *In places of ambiguous and doubtful, or dark and intricate meaning, it is ſufficient if we religiouſly admire and acknowledge and confeſs:*

confeſs: *uſing that moderation of Auſtine*: *Neutram partem affirmamus ſive deſtruentes, ſed tantummodo ab audaci affirmandi præſumptione revocantes. Qui credit*, ſaith one, *ſatis eſt illi quod Chriſtus intelligat.* To underſtand belongs to Chriſt the Author of our Faith: to us is ſufficient the glory of believing. Wherefore we are to adviſe, not ſo much how to attain unto the underſtanding of the myſteries of Scripture; as how it beſt fits us to carry our ſelves when either the difficulty of the text, or variety of opinions ſhall diſtract us. In the ſixth General Councel *Honorius* Biſhop of *Rome* is condemned for a *Monothelite*. Two Epiſtles there are of his which are produced to give evidence againſt him. For the firſt I have nothing to ſay. For the ſecond (I ſpeak with ſubmiſſion to better judgement) notwithſtanding the ſharp proceeding of the Councel againſt him, I verily ſuppoſe that he gives unto the Church the beſt Counſel, that ever yet was given for the ſetling of doubts, and final deciſion of controverſie. For that which he teaches in that Epiſtle, at leaſt in thoſe parts of it, which there are brought, ſounds to no other purpoſe but this: *That whereas there was lately raiſed in the Church a controverſie concerning the duality or unity of wills in Chriſt; ſince that hitherto nothing in the Church concerning either part hath been expreſly taught, his Counſel was that men would rather ceaſe to doubt, then to be curious to ſearch for any ſolution of their doubtings; and ſo abſtain from teaching doctrinally either part, and content themſelves with that expreſs meaſure of faith, with which the Church hath hitherto reſt ſatisfied.* This to my conceit is the driſt of his Epiſtle. How this adviſe of the Biſhops was appliable or how it fitted the queſtion then in controverſie; or what reaſon moved the Councel to think that it was abſolutely neceſſary for them, to give an expreſs deciſion, and determine for the one part, belongs not to me to diſcuſs. But I verily perſwade my ſelf, that if it had pleaſed thoſe, who in all ages have been ſet to Govern the Church of God, betimes to have made uſe of this adviſe, to have taught men rather not to have doubted, then to have expected ſtill ſolution of their doubtings: to have ſtopt and damm'd up the originals and ſprings of controverſies, rather then by determining for the one part, to give them as it were a pipe and conduit to conveigh them to poſterity, I perſwade my ſelf the Church had not ſuffered that inundation of opinions, with which at this day it is overrun. Is it not Saint *Pauls* own practiſe,

&iſe, when having brought in a queſtion concerning Gods juſtice in predeſtination, he gives no other anſwer but this, *O man, who art thou that diſputeſt with God?* Is it not his plain purpoſe to adviſe the diſputer rather not to make the queſtion, then to require a determination of it at his hands? How many of the queſtions even of our own times, even of thoſe that are at home amongſt us, might by this way long ſince have been determin'd? I have, I confeſs, the ſame diſeaſe that my firſt Parents in Paradiſe had, a deſire to know more then I need. But I always thought it a very judicious commendation, which is given to *Julius Agricola*, that he knew how to bridle his deſire in purſuit of knowledge, *retinuitque, quod eſt difficillimum, ex ſcientia modum. Mallem quidem* (as S. *Auſtine* ſaith) *eorum quæ à me quæſiviſti habere ſcientiam, quàm ignorantiam; ſed quia id nondum potui, magis eligo cautam ignorantiam confiteri, quam falſam ſcientiam profiteri.* It ſhall well befit our Chriſtian modeſty to participate ſomewhat of the *Sceptike*, and to uſe their ἐπέχειν, till the ὑστέρημα, and remainder of our knowledge be ſupplied by Chriſt: *In quem ſi credimus, ut ſi aliqua nobis non aperiat etiam pulſantibus, nullo modo adverſus eum murmurare debeamus.* To conclude, S. *Auſtine* in his eightieth Epiſtle diſcourſing of the ſpeedy or ſlow coming of our Saviour to judgement, to ſhew that it is the ſafeſt way to teach neither, but to ſuſpend our belief, and confeſs our ignorance, ranging himſelf with men of this temper, *obſecro te* (ſaith he to *Heſychius*, to whom he writes that Epiſtle) *obſecro te ut me talem non ſpernas.* So give me leave to commence the ſame ſuit to you: *obſecro vos ut me talem non ſpernatis.* Let me requeſt you bear with me, if I be ſuch a one, as I have S. *Auſtine* for example. For it is not depth of knowledge, nor knowledge of antiquity, or ſharpneſs of wit, nor authority of Councels, nor the name of the Church can ſettle the reſtleſs conceits, that poſſeſs the mindes of many doubtful Chriſtians: onely to ground for faith on the plain uncontroverſable Text of Scripture, and for the reſt to expect and pray for the coming of our *Elias*, this ſhall compoſe our waverings, and give final reſt unto our ſouls.

Thus inſtead of a diſcourſe which was due unto this time, concerning the glorious Reſurrection of our bleſſed Saviour, and the benefits that come unto us by it, I have diverted my ſelf upon another theam, more neceſſary as I thought for this auditory, though

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leſs agreeable with this ſolemnity. Thoſe who have gone afore me in that argument have made ſo copious a harveſt, that the iſſue of my gatherings muſt needs have been but ſmall, except I had with *Ruth* glean'd out of their ſheaves, or ſtrain'd my induſtry which is but ſmall, and my wits which are none, to have held your attentiveneſs with new and quaint conceits. In the mean time, whether it be I or they, or whatſoever hath been delivered out of this place, God grant that it may be for his honor, and for the Churches good, to whom both it and we are dedicate. To God the Father, &c.

Rom. 14. 1.

Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations.

MIght it so have pleased God that I had in my power the choice of my ways, and the free management of my own actions, I had not this day been seen, (for so I think I may better speak: seen may I be of many, but to be heard with any latitude and compass my natural imperfection doth quite cut of:) I had not I say in * this place this day been seen; Ambition of great and famous Auditories I leave to those whose better gifts and inward endowments are Admonitioners unto them of the great good they can do, or otherwise thirst after popular applause. Unto my self have I evermore applied that of St. Hierome, mihi sufficit cum auditore & Lectore pauperculo in angulo Monasterii susurrare, a small, a private, a retired auditory better accords both with my will and my abilities. Those unto whose discretion the furniture of this place is committed, ought especially to be careful, since you come hither to hear, to provide you those who can be heard, for the neglect of this one circumstance, how poor soever it may seem to be, is no less then to offend against that faith which cometh by hearing; and to frustrate as much as in them is, that end for which alone these meetings were ordained. We that come to this place as God came to Elias in the mount, in a soft and still voice, to those which are near us, are that which the grace of God doth make us, unto the rest we are but Statues: such therefore as my

* St. Pauls Cross

my Imperfection in this kinde ſhall offend, ſuch as this day are my ſpectators only, know, I truſt whom they are to blame. At my hands is only required truth in ſincerely diſcharging a common care, at others, care of profitably delivering a common truth. As for me, the end of whoſe coming is to exhort you to a gracious interpreting of each others imperfections, having firſt premiſed this Apology for my ſelf, it is now time to deſcend to the expoſition of that Scripture, which I have propos'd. Infirmum in fide recipite, *&c.* Him that is weak in the faith receive, &c.

Goodneſs, of all the attributes, by which a man may be ſtiled, hath chief place and Soveraignty. *Goodneſs*, I ſay, not that *Metaphyſical conceit* which we diſpute of in our Schools, and is nothing elſe but that *perfection* which is inwardly due, unto the Being of every creature, and without which either it is not at all, or but in part, that whoſe name it bears: but that which the common ſort of men do uſually underſtand, when they call a man Good; by which is meant nothing elſe, but ὑγρὸν καὶ μαλιχὸν ἦθος, *a ſoft, and ſweet, and flexible diſpoſition.* For all other Excellencies and *Eminent qualities* which raiſe in the mindes of men, ſome opinion and conceit of us, may occaſion peradventure ſome ſtrong reſpect in another kinde; but *impreſſion of love* and true *reſpect* nothing can give but this. *Greatneſs* of place and authority may make us fear'd, Depth of *Learning* admir'd, Abundance of *wealth* may make men outwardly obſequious unto us; but that which makes one man a *God* unto another, that which doth *tye the Souls* of men unto us, that which like the *Eye of the Bridegroom*, in the book of *Canticles*, *raviſhes the heart of him that looks upon it*, is Goodneſs, without this *mankinde* were but (as one ſpeaks) *Commiſſiones meræ, & arena ſine calce*, ſtones heapt together without morter, or pieces of boards without any cæment to combine and tye them together. For this it hath ſingular in it, above all other properties, of which our Nature is capable, that it is the moſt *Available* to *Humane Society*, incorporating, and as it were *kneading* us together by ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, by being compaſſionate, by gladly communicating to the *neceſſity* of others, by *Transfuſing* our ſelves into others, and

Receiving from others into our selves. All other *Qualities*, how excellent soever they are, seem to be somewhat of a *melancholick* and solitary disposition. They shine then brightest, when they are in some one alone, or attain'd unto by few; once make them common, and they lose their lustre. But *Goodness* is more sociable; and rejoyceth in equalling others unto it self, and loses its Nature, when it ceases to be *communicable*. The Heathen speaking of God usually stile him by two Attributes. *Optimus & Maximus*, the one importing his *goodness*, the other his *Power*. In the first place they call'd him *Optimus*, a name signifying his *goodness*, giving the *precedency* unto it; and in the second place *Maximus*, a name betokening his *Power*: yea, Goodness is that wherein God himself doth most delight himself; and therefore all the *Acts* of our *Saviour*, while he conversed on earth among men, were purely the issues of his *tenderness* without any asperion of Severity, two only excepted: I mean his *Chasing* the *Prophaners* out of the *Temple*, and the *Curse* laid upon the *innocent Fig-tree*: and yet in both these *mercy* rejoyced against judgment and his *goodness* had the preheminence. For the first brought some smart with it indeed, but no harm at all, as Fathers use to chastise their Children by means that fear them more then hurt them. The second of it self was nothing, as being practis'd on a Creature dull and senseless of all smart, and punishment; but was meerly *Exemplary* for us, *sterilitas nostra in ficu vapulat*. Christ whips our fruitlesness in the innocent fig-tree; like as the *Manner* was among the *Persians*, when their great men had offended, to take their Garments and beat them. Now that *gracious* way of *goodness* which it pleased our Saviour, thus to tread himself before us, the same hath he left behinde him to be gone by us, and hath ordained us a course of *Religious* and *Christian service* unto him, known by nothing more then *goodness* and *compassion*. The very *Heathen* themselves, though utter enemies unto it, have *candidly* afforded us this *Testimony*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* taxing *Georgius* a factious and proud Bishop of *Alexandria*, for abusing the weakness of *Constantius* the Emperour by base tale-bearing and privy informations; notes precisely that he did it, *Oblitus professionis suæ, quæ nil nisi justum suadet*

det & lene; quite beſides the meaning of his profeſſion, whoſe eſpecial notes were Gentleneſs and Equity. And *Tertullian* tells us that anciently among the Heathen, the profeſſors of *Chriſtanity*, were called, not *Chriſtiani*, but *Chreſtiani*, from a word ſignifying *Benignity* and *ſweetneſs* of diſpoſition. The learned of our times, who for our inſtruction, have written *de Notis Eccleſiæ* by what notes and ſignes, we may know the Church of *Chriſt* may ſeem to have but ill forgotten, this which the Heathen man had ſo clearly diſcovered. For what reaſon is there, why that ſhould not be one of the chiefeſt notes of the Church of *Chriſt*, which did ſo eſpecially *Characterize* a Chriſtian man, except it were the decay of it at this day in the Church: of this thing therefore ſo excellent in it ſelf, ſo uſeful, ſo principally commended by the precept and example of our bleſſed *Saviour*, one eſpecial part is, if not the whole, which here by our *Apoſtle* is commended unto us, when he ſpeaks unto us of kindly intreating, & making much of ſuch, who are as he calls them *weak in Faith*.

Him that is weak in Faith, &c. To know the natural ground and occaſion of which words, it ſhall be very pertinent, to note unto you, that with the Church of Chriſt, as it ſignifies a *Company of men* on earth, it fares no otherwiſe, then it doth with other *Societies*, and civil *Corporations*. One thing there is unavoidable, and natural to all ſocieties, which is the greateſt occaſioner, yea the very ground of diſunion and diſſent, I mean *Inequality of perſons and degrees*. All are not of the ſame worth, and therefore all cannot carry the ſame eſteem and countenance: yet all even the meaneſt are alike impatient of diſcountenance and contempt, be the perſons never ſo great, from whence it proceeds. Wherefore we finde that in States governed by the people nothing did more exaſperate the common ſort, then the conceit of being contemned by men of greater place. For the taking away therefore of *tumult* and *combuſtion*, which through this inequality might ariſe, it was anciently accounted an excellent policy in the *Romane ſtate*, that men of greater account and place, did as it were *ſhare* the *inferiour* ſort amongſt themſelves, and every one according to his Ability entertain'd ſome part of them as *Clyents*, to whom they yielded all lawful

favour

favour and protection. *Even* thus it fares with the *Church* of God, it cannot be, that all in it ſhould be of equal worth, it is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed into *Plebem* and *Optimates*. Some there are, and thoſe that either through aboundance of ſpiritual graces, or elſe of natural gifts do far out-ſtrip a great part of other *Chriſtians*, theſe are the *Optimates*, the Nobles of the Church whom our Apoſtle, ſome where calls *ſtrong men in Chriſt*. Others there are, and thoſe moſt in number, who either becauſe God hath not ſo liberally bleſt them with gifts of underſtanding, and capacity; or by reaſon of ſome other imperfections are either not ſo deeply skill'd in the myſteries of Chriſt, and of Godlineſs, or otherwiſe weak in manners and behaviour, and theſe are the *Plebs* the *Many* of the *Church*, whom our Apoſtle ſometimes calls *Brethren of low degree*, ſometimes *Babes in Chriſt*, and here in my text the *weak and ſick in faith*. Men, by nature querulous, and apt to take exception, δυσάρεστον γὰρ οἱ νοσοῦντες ἀποείας ὑπὸ ſaith *Electra* in the Tragedy. *A ſick man is a pettiſh, and wayward Creature hard to be pleaſed*; as therefore with the ſick, ſo are we now to deal with a *Neighbour* weak and ſick of his *ſpiritual* conſtitution, and much we are to bear with his frowardneſs, where we cannot remedy it. For as *Varro* ſometimes ſpake of the Laws of Wedlock. *Uxoris vitium aut tollendum eſt aut ferendum*, either a man muſt amend, or endure the faults of his wife, he that amends them makes his *wife* the better, but he that patiently endures them makes *himſelf* the better: ſo is it much more true in dealing with our weak Brethren, if we can by our behaviour remedy their imbecillities, we make them the better, if not, by enduring them we ſhall make our ſelves the better; for ſo ſhall we encreaſe the vertue of our patience, and purchaſe to our ſelves at Gods hand a more aboundant reward. A great part of the luſtre of a *Chriſtian* mans virtue were utterly obſcure, ſhould it want this mean of ſhewing it ſelf; for were all men ſtrong, were all of ſufficient diſcretion, to ſee and judge of *Convenience*, where were the glory of our forbearance? As well therefore to increaſe the reward of the *ſtrong man* in Chriſt, as to ſtop the *whining and murmuring* of the weaker ſort, and to give content at all hands, our Apoſtle like a good *Tribune* in this

Text

Text gives a rule of *Christian popularity* advising the man of worthier parts, to avoid all sleighting behaviour, to open the arms of tenderness and compassion, and to demerit by all courtesie the men of meaner rank, so to prevent all inconvenience, that might arise out of disdainful and respectless carriage; for God is not like unto mortal Princes, jealous of the man whom the people love. In the world nothing is more dangerous for great men, then the extraordinary favour, and applause of the people. Many excellent men have miscarried by it. For Princes stand much in fear, when any of their subjects hath the heart of the people. It is one of the commonest grounds upon which Treason is rais'd, *Absolom* had the Art of it, who by being plausible, by commiserating the peoples wrongs, and wishing the redress; *O that I were a Judge to do this people good*, by putting out his hand and imbracing and kissing every one that came *nigh* him, so stole away the hearts of the people, that he had well-nigh put his Father beside his Kingdom: but what alters and undoes the Kingdoms of this world, that strengthens and increases the Kingdom of God, *Absolom* the popular *Christian*, that hath the art of winning mens souls, and making himself belov'd of the people, is the best subject in the Kingdom of grace, for this is that which our Apostle expresses in the phrase of *Receiving the weak*.

Now it falls out oftentimes that men offend through *intempestive compassion* and tenderness, as much as by over much rigidness and severity: as much by familiarity, as by superciliousness and contempt. Wherefore even our love and courtesie must be managed by discretion. St. *Paul* saw this well; and therefore he prescribes limits to our affections, and having in the former part of my text counselled us as *Christ did Peter*, to let *loose our nets*, to make a draught; to do as *Joseph* did in *Egypt*, *open our garners* and store-houses, that all may come to buy, to admit of all, to exclude none, from our indulgence and courtesie, in this second part *But not to doubtful disputations*; he sets the bounds how far our love must reach. As *Moses* in the 19. of *Exodus*, set bounds about *Mount Sinai*, forbidding the people, that they go not up to the Hill, or come within the borders of it, so hath the Apostle appointed certain limits to our

love

love and favour, within which it ſhall not be lawful for the people to come. Inlarge we the *Phylacteries* of our goodneſs as broad as we liſt, give we all countenance unto the meaner ſort, admit we them into all inwardneſs, and familiarity; yet unto *diſputations* and *controverſies*, concerning profounder points of *Faith* and religious myſteries, the meaner ſort may be by no means admitted. For give me leave now to take this for the meaning of the words: I know they are very capable of another ſenſe: as if the Apoſtles counſel had been unto us to entertain withal courteſie our weaker brethren, and not overbuſily to enquire into, or cenſure their ſecret thoughts and doubtings, but here to leave them to themſelves, and to God who is the Judge of thoughts. For many there are, otherwiſe right good men, yet weak in judgement, who have fallen upon ſundry private conceits, ſuch as are unneceſſary *differencing of meats and drinks*, diſtinction of *days* or (to exemplifie my ſelf in ſome conceit of our *times*) ſome ſingular opinions concerning the *State* of *Souls departed*, private interpretations of *obſcure Texts* of *Scripture*, and others of the ſame nature: of theſe or the like thoughts, which have taken root in the hearts of men of ſhallow capacity, thoſe who are more ſurely grounded, may not preſume themſelves to bee judges, many of theſe things of themſelves, are harmleſs, and indifferent, only to him that hath ſome prejudicate opinion of them, they are not ſo, and of theſe things they who are thus, or thus conceited ſhall be accountable to God, and not to man; to him alone ſhall they ſtand or fall. Wherefore, *bear* (ſaith the Apoſtle) with theſe infirmities, and take not on you to be Lords of their thoughts, but gently tolerate theſe their unneceſſary conceits and ſcrupuloſities. This though I take to be the more natural meaning of the words, (for indeed it is the main drift of our Apoſtles diſcourſe in this chapter) yet chuſe I rather to follow the former interpretation. Firſt, becauſe of the *Authority* of ſundry learned *Interpreters*, and becauſe it is very requiſite that our age ſhould have ſomething ſaid unto it concerning this over bold intruſion of all ſorts of men into the diſcuſſing of doubtful *Diſputations*. For *Diſputation*, though it be an excellent help to bring the truth to light, yet many times by to much

much troubling the waters, it ſuffers it to ſlip away unſeen, eſpecially with the meaner ſort who cannot ſo eaſily eſpie, when it is mixt with Sophiſtry and deceit. *Infirmum autem in fide recipite*, but not to *doubtful diſputations*.

This my text therefore is a *Spiritual Regimen* and diet for theſe who are of a weak and ſickly conſtitution of minde, and it contains a *Recipe* for a man of crazie and diſeaſed faith. In which by that which I have delivered, you may plainly ſee there are two general parts. Firſt an admonition of courteous entertainment to be given to the weaker ſort in the firſt words. *Him that is weak in the Faith receive*, &c. Secondly, the reſtraint and bound of this Admonition, how far it is to extend even unto all Chriſtian offices, excepting only the hearing of *doubtful diſputations*. In the firſt part we will conſider; firſt, who theſe weak ones are of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaks, and how many kindes of them there be, and how each of them may be the ſubject of a Chriſtian mans goodneſs and courteſie. Secondly, who theſe perſons are, to whom this precept of entertaining is given, and they are two, either, the private man, or the publick Magiſtrate: In the ſecond general part we will ſee what reaſons we may frame to our ſelves, why theſe weak ones ſhould not be admitted to queſtions and *doubtful diſputations*. Which points ſeverally, and by themſelves we will not handle, but we will ſo order them, that ſtill as we ſhall have in order diſcovered ſome kind of weak *man*, whom our Apoſtle would have *received*, we will immediately ſeek how far forth he hath a right to be an hearer of *Sacred* diſputation, and this as far only as it concerns a private man: And for an up-ſhot in the end, we will briefly conſider by it ſelf, whether, and how far this precept of *bearing* with the weak pertains to the man of *publick place*, whether in the Church or in the common-wealth. And firſt concerning the *weak*, as he may be a ſubject of Chriſtian courteſie in private. And here becauſe, that in compariſon of him that is ſtrong in Chriſt, every man of what eſtate ſoever, may be ſaid to be weak, that *ſtrong man* only excepted, we will in the number of the weak contain all perſons whatſoever. For I confeſs, becauſe I wiſh well to all, I am willing that all ſhould reap ſome bene-

fit by my text. As therefore the *woman* in the Gospel, who in touching only the *Hem of Christs garment* did receive vertue to cure her disease: so all weak persons whatsoever, though they seem to come behinde, and only touch the *hem* of my text, may peradventure receive some vertue from it to redress their weakness; nay, as the *King in the Gospel* that made a *feast*, and willed his servants to go out to the high-wayes side to the blinde, and the lame, and force them in that his house might be full: so what lame or weak person soever he be, if I finde him not in my text, I will go out and force him in, that the doctrine of my Text may be full, and that the goodness of a Christian man may be like *the widdows oyle in the book of Kings*, that never ceas'd *running* so long as there was a vessel to receive it. Wherefore to speak in general: there is no kinde of man, of what life, of what profession, of what estate and calling soever, though he be an heathen, and Idolater unto whom the skirts of Christian compassion do not reach. St. *Paul* is my author: *Now whilest you have time* (faith he) *do good unto all men, but especially to the houshold of Faith.* The houshold of faith indeed hath the preheminence; it must be chiefly, but not alone respected. The distinction that is to be made, is not by excluding any, but not participating alike unto all, God did sometimes indeed tye his love to the Jewish Nation only, and gave his laws to them alone: but afterward, he enlarged himself, and instituted an order of serving him promiscuously capable of all the world. As therefore our religion is, so must our compassion be, catholick. To tye it either to persons or to place, is but a kinde of *moral Judaisme*. Did not St. *Paul* teach us, thus much common reason would. There must of necessity be some free entercourse with all men, otherwise the passages of publick commerce were quite cut of, and the common law of Nations must needs fall. In some things we agree, as we are men, and thus far the very heathen themselves are to be received. For the goodness of a man which in *Solomons* judgement, extendeth even to a beast, much more must stretch it self to a man of the same nature with him, be his condition what it will. St. *Paul* loved the *Jews*, because they were *his brethren according to the Flesh*. We that are of the *heathen* by the

the ſame ſame anology ought to be as tenderly affected to the reſt our brethren, who though they be not as we are *now*, yet now are that which we ſometimes were. *Facile eſt atque proclive*, ſaith Auſtine, *malos odiſſe quia mali ſunt, rarum autem & pium eoſdem ipſos diligere, quia homines ſunt*, It is an eaſie thing to hate *evil men*, becauſe they are evil, but to love them as they are *men* this is a rare and a pious thing. The offices of common hoſpitality, of helping diſtreſſed perſons, feeding the hungry, and the like are due not only betwixt Chriſtian and Chriſtian, but between a Chriſtian and all the world. *Lot, when the Angels came to Sodom, and ſate in the ſtreets*: *Abraham* when he ſaw *three men* coming toward him ſtood not to inquire who they were, but out of the ſenſe of common humanity, run forth and met them, and gladly entertained them, not knowing whom they ſhould receive. St. *Chryſoſtome* conſidering the circumſtances of *Abrahams* fact, that he ſate at his tent door, and that in the heat of the day, that he came to meet them, thinks he therefore ſate in publick, and endured the inconvenience of the heat even for this purpoſe, that he might not let ſlip any occaſion of being hoſpital. The writings of the *Fathers* run much in commendation of the ancient *Monks*, and were they ſuch as they report, well did they deſerve to be commended, for their manner was to ſit in the fields, and by the high way ſides, for this end, that they might direct wandring paſſengers into the way, that they might relieve all that were diſtreſſed by want, or bruiſing or breaking of any member, and carry them home into their cells, and perform unto them all duties of humanity. This ſerves well to tax us, who affect a kinde of intempeſtive prudence, and unſeaſonable diſcretion in performing that little good we do, from whom ſo hardly after long enquiry and entreaty drops ſome ſmall benevolence, like the ſun in winter long ere it riſe and quickly gone. How many occaſions of Chriſtian charity do we let ſlip, when we refuſe to give our alms, unleſs we firſt caſt doubts, and examine the perſons, their lives, their neceſſities, though it be only to reach out ſome ſmall thing, which is due unto him, whatſoever it be. It was anciently a complaint againſt the Church, that the liberality of the *Chriſtians* made

many idle persons. Be it that it was so yet no other thing befel them, then what befals their Lord, who knows and sees that his *Sun-shine* and his *Rain* is every day abused, and yet the Sun become not like a Sack nor the Heavens as Brass; unto him must we, by his own command, be like: and whom then can we exclude, that have a pattern of such courtesie proposed to us to follow? we read in our books of a nice *Athenian* being entertain'd in a place by one given to hospitality, finding anon that another was received with the like curtesie, and then a third, growing very angry. I thought, said he, that I had found here ξενῶνα, but I have found. πανδοχεῖον, I look't for a *friends house*, but I am fallen into an *Inne* to entertain all Comers, rather then a Lodging for some private & especial friends. Let it not offend any that I have made Christianity rather an *Inne* to receive all, then a private house to receive some few. For so both the precepts and examples I have brought, teach us, *beneficia præstare non homini, sed humano generi*, to extend our good, not to this or that man, but to mankind, like the Sun that ariseth not on this or that nation, but on the whole world. *Julian* observes of the *fig-tree*, that above all trees it is most capable of grafts & Siences of other kinds, so far as that all variety will be brought to take nourishment from one stock: Beloved, a Christian must be like unto *Julians fig-tree*, so Universally compassionate, that so all sorts of grafts by a kinde of Christian inoculation may be brought to draw life and nourishment from his root.

But I am all this while in a generality only, and I must not forget, that I have many *particular sick Patients*, in my Text, of whom every one must have his *Recipe*, and I must visit them all ere I go. But withal, I must remember my *Method* which was still as I spake, of *Receiving the weak* to speak likewise of excluding them from disputation. So must I needs ere I pass away, tax this our age, for giving so general permission unto all to busie themselves in doubtful cases of Religion. For nothing is there that hath more prejudiced the cause of *Religion*, then this *promiscuous* and careless *admission* of all sorts to the hearing and handling of controversies, whether we consider the private case of every man, or the publick state of the Church. I will touch but one inconvenience which much annoyes the Church,

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by opening this gate ſo wide to all commers, for by the great preaſs of people that come, the work of the Lord is much hindred. Not to ſpeak of thoſe who out of *weakneſs* of underſtanding fall into many errors, and by reaſon of liberty of bequeathing their errors to the world by writing eaſily finde heirs for them. There is a ſort that do harm by being *unneceſſary*, and though they ſowe not *tares* in the field, yet fill the Lords floor with chaff; For what need this great *breed of writers*, with which in this age the world doth ſwarm? how many of us might ſpare the pains in committing our Meditations to writing, contenting our ſelves to teach the people *vivâ voce*, and ſuffering our conceits quietly to die in their birth? The teaching the people by voice is perpetually neceſſary, ſhould all of us every where ſpeak but the ſame things; For all cannot uſe Books, and all that can have not the leiſure; To remedy therefore the want of skill in the one and of time in the other, are we ſet in this Miniſtry of Preaching. Our voices are confin'd to a certain compaſs, and tied to the Individuating properties of *Hic* and *Nunc*: our writings are unlimited. Neceſſity therefore requires a multitude of ſpeakers, a multitude of writers, not ſo. "G. Agricola "*writing* de Animantibus ſubterraneis *reports of a certain kinde* "*of* Spirits *that converſe in* Minerals *and much infeſt thoſe that work* "*in them, and the manner of them when they come is, to ſeem to buſie* "*themſelves according to all the cuſtom of workmen; they will dig* "*and cleanſe and melt and ſever mettals, yet when they are gone,* "*the workmen do not finde that there is any thing done: ſo fares it* "*with a great part of the multitude, who thruſt themſelves into the* "*controverſies of the times, they write Books, move queſtions frame* "*diſtinctions, give ſolutions, and ſeem ſedulouſly to do, whatſoever* "*the nature of the buſineſs requires, yet if any skilful workman in* "*the Lords Mines ſhall come and examine their work, he ſhall finde* "*them to be but* Spirits in Minerals, *and that withal this labor and* "*ſtir there is nothing done.* I acknowledge it to be very true, which S. *Auſtine* ſpake in his firſt Book *de Trinitate*: *Utile eſt plures libros à pluribus fieri diverſo ſtilo, ſed non diverſâ fide, etiam de quæſtionibus iiſdem, ut ad plurimos res ipſa perveniat ad alios ſic, ad alios verò ſic.* It is a thing very profitable that diverſe *Tracts*

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be written by divers men, after divers fashions, but according to the same Analogy of Faith, even of the same questions that some might come into the hands of all, to some on this manner to another after that. For this may we think to have been the counsel of the Holy Ghost himself, who may seem even for this purpose, to have registred the self same things of Christ by three of the *Evangelists* with little difference; Yet notwithstanding, if this speech of *S. Austine* admit of being qualified, then was there no time which more then this age required it, should be moderated, which I note, because of a noxious conceit spread in our Universities to the great hindering of true proficiency in Study springing out from this Root. For many of the Learned themselves are fallen upon this preposterous conceit, that learning consisteth rather in varieting of turning and quoting of sundry Authors, then in soundly discovering and laying down the truth of things. Out of which arises a greater charge unto the poor Student, who now goes by number rather then weight, and the Books of the learned themselves, by ambitiously heaping up the conceits, and authorities of other men increase much in the bulk, but do as much imbase in true value. Wherefore as *Gedeons army*, of two and thirty thousand by prescript from God was brought unto three hundred: So this huge army of disputes, might without any hazard of the Lords battles, be well contracted into a smaller number. *Justinian* the Emporour when he found that the study of the *Civil Law* was surcharged and much confused, by reason of the great heaps of unnecessary writings, he calls an assembly of learned men, caus'd them to search the books, to cut of what was superfluous to gather into order and method the sum and substance of the whole Law: were it possible that some Religious *Justinian* might after the same manner imploy the wits of some of the best Learned in examining the controversies, and selecting out of the best writers what is necessary, defaulting unnecessary and partial discourses, and so digest into order and method, and leave for the direction of posterity as it were *Theological pandects*: infinite store of our books might very well lie by, and peaceably be buried, and after ages reap greater profit with smaller cost and pains.

pains. But that which was possible in the world united under *Justinian* in this great division of Kingdoms is peradventure impossible. Wherefore having contented my self to shew what a great and irremediable inconvenience this free, and uncontroulable ventring upon *Theological disputes* hath brought upon us, I will leave this project as a Speculation, and pass from this general Doctrine unto some particulars. For this generality, and heap of sick persons, I must divide into their kindes and give every one his proper *Recipe*.

The *first* in this order of weak persons, so to be received & cherisht by us, is one of whom question may be made whether he may be called *weak* or no; he may seem to be rather dead: for no pulse of infused grace beats in him. I mean such a one who hath but smal, or peradventure no knowledge at all in the mystery of Christ, yet is otherwise, a man of upright life and conversation, such a one as we usually name *a moral man*. Account you of such a one as dead, or how you please, yet methinks I finde a *Recipe* for him in my text. For this man is even to be woed by us, as sometimes one heathen man wisht of another, *Talis cùm sis utinam noster esses*; This man may speak unto a Christian as *Ruth does* unto *Booz*, *spread the skirt of thy garment over me, for thou art a near kinsman*. Two parts there are that do compleatly make up a *Christian* man. A true *Faith*, and an honest *conversation*. The first, though it seem the worthier, and therefore gives unto us the name of Christians, yet the second in the end will proove the surer. For true profession without *honest conversation*, not only saves not, but increases our weight of punishment: but a good life without true profession, though it bring us not to Heaven, yet it lessens the measure of our judgement: so that *a moral man so called is a Christian by the surer side*. As our Saviour saith of one in the Gospel that had wisely and discreetly answered him, *Thou art not far from the kingdom of Heaven*: So may we say of these men, suppose that as yet they be not of, yet certainly far from the *Kingdom* of *Heaven* they cannot be, yea, this sincerity of life though sever'd from true profession, did seem such a jewel in the eyes of some of the ancient *Fathers*, that their opinion was and so have they

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in their writings (erroneouſly doubtleſs) yet ſo have they teſtifi-ed it, that God hath in ſtore for ſuch men not only this mitiga-ting mercy of which but now I ſpake, but even ſaving grace ſo far forth as to make them poſſeſſors of his Kingdom. Let it not trouble you that I intitle them to ſome part of our Chriſtian Faith, and therefore without ſcruple to be received as weak and not to be caſt forth as dead. *Salvianus* diſputing what Faith is, *Quid eſt igitur credulitas vel fides?* ſaith he, *opinor fideliter hominũ Chriſto credere, id eſt, fidelẽ Deo eſſe, hoc eſt fideliter Dei manda-ta ſervare.* What might this faith be? (ſaith he) I ſuppoſe it is nothing elſe, but faithfully to believe Chriſt, and this is to be faithful unto God, which is nothing elſe but faithfully to *keep the commandments of God.* Not therefore only a bare belief, but the fidelity & truſtineſs of Gods ſervants faithfully accompliſh-ing the will of our Maſter, is required as a part of our Chri-ſtian Faith. Now all thoſe good things which moral men by the light of nature do, are a part of Gods will written in their hearts, wherefore ſo far as they were conſcientious in perform-ing them (if *Salvianus* his reaſon be good) ſo far have they title and intereſt in our Faith. And therefore *Regulus* that famous *Roman*, when he endured infinite torments rather then he would break his *Oath*, may thus far be counted a Martyr, and witneſs for the truth. For the Crown of Martyrdom ſits not only on the heads of thoſe who have loſt their lives, rather then they would ceaſe to profeſs the Name of Chriſt, but on the head of every one that ſuffers for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and for righteouſneſs ſake. And here I cannot paſs by one very gene-ral groſs miſtaking of our age. For in our diſcourſes concerning the notes of a Chriſtian man, by what *ſignes* we may know a man to be one of the viſible company of Chriſt, we have ſo tied our ſelves to this outward profeſſion that if we know no o-ther vertue in a man, but that he hath cond his Creed by heart, let his life be never ſo profane we think it argument enough for us to account him within the Pale and Circuit of the Church: on the contrary ſide let his life be never ſo upright, if either he little ſeen in, or peradventure quite ignorant of the Myſtery of Chriſt, we eſteem of him but as dead; and thoſe who con-

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ceive well of those moral good things as of some tokens giving hope of life, we account but as a kinde of *Manichees*, who thought the very earth had life in it. I must confess that I have not yet made that proficiency in the Schools of our age, as that I could see: why the second table and the Acts of it, are not as properly the parts of Religion and Christianity, as the Acts and observations of the first. If I mistake, then it is S. *James* that hath abus'd me, for he describing Religion by its proper Acts, tells us, that *True Religion and undefiled before God and the Father is to visit the Fatherless and the Widow in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted of the world.* So that the thing which in an especial refine dialect of the new Christian language signifies nothing but morality and civility, that in the language of the holy Ghost imports true Religion. Wherefore any difference that the holy Ghost makes notwithstanding, the man of vertuous dispositions, though ignorant of the mystery of Christ, be it *Fabricius* or *Regulus* or any ancient heathen man, famous for sincerity and uprightness of carriage, hath as sure a claim and interest in the Church of Christ as the man deepest skil'd in, most certainly believing, and openly professing all, that is, written in the holy books of God, if he endevour not to *shew his faith by his works.* The Ancients therefore where they found this kinde of men gladly received them, and converst, familiarly with them, as appears by the friendly entercourse of Epistles of S. *Basil* with *Libanius* of *Nazianzen* and *Austen* with sundry others, and Antiquity hath either left us true, or forged us false Epistles betwixt Saint *Paul* himself and *Seneca.* Now as for the admitting of any of these men to the discussing of the doubts in our Religious mysteries, who either know not, or peradventure contemn them, there needs not much be said: by a *Cannon* of one of the *Councels of Carthage* it appears, it had sometimes been the erroneous practise of some Christians to Baptize the dead, and to put the Sacrament of Christs body into their mouths. Since we have confest these men to be in a sort dead, as having no supernatural quickning grace from above, to put into their hands the handling of the word of life at all, much more of discussing of the doubtful things in it, were nothing else, but to Baptize a car-

cass, and put the communion bread into the mouth of the dead. Wherefore leaving this kinde of weak person to your courteous acceptance.

Let us consider of *another*, one quite contrary to the former; a true professor, but a man of *prophane* and wicked life, one more dangerously ill then the former, have we any *recipe* for this man? May seem for him there is no balm in *Gilead*, he seems like unto the *Lepar* in the law, unto whom no man might draw near, and by so much the more dangerous is his case, because the condition of conversing with heathen men, be they never so wicked is permitted unto Christians by our Apostle himself, whereas with this man all commerce seems by the same Apostle to be quite cut off. For in the 1 *Cor. 6.* St. *Paul* having forbidden them formerly all manner of conversing with *Fornicators*, *infamous* persons, and men subject to grievous crimes, and considering at length how impossible this was, because of the Gentiles with whom they lived, and amongst whom necessarily they were to converse and trade, he distinguishes between the *fornicators* of this world, and the *fornicators* which were Brethren. I meant not (saith the Blessed Apostle) expounding himself *that ye should not admit of the Fornicators of this world*, that is, such as were Gentiles; for then must ye have sought a new world. So great and general a liberty at that time had the world assumed for the practise of that sin of *fornication*, that strictly to have forbidden them the company of fornicators had almost been to have excluded them the society of mankinde. But saith he, *if a brother be a fornicator or a thief, or a railer with such a one partake not, no not so much as to eat.* Wherefore the case of this person seems to be desperate. For he is not only mortally sick, but is bereft of all help of the Physician, yet notwwithstanding all this we may not give him over for gone, for when we have well searcht our boxes, we shall finde a *Recipe* even for him too, think we that our Apostles meaning was, that we should acquaint our selves only with the good, and not the bad; as Physicians in the time of *pestilence* look only to the sound, and shun the diseas'd? Our *Saviour Christ* familiarly converst, eat, and drank with *Publicans* and sinners, and gives the reason of it; because

becauſe he came not to call the Righteous but ſinners to repentance. Is Chriſt contrary to *Paul*? this reaſon of our Saviour concerns *every* one on whom the duty of ſaving of Souls doth reſt. It is the main drift of his meſſage and unavoidably he is to converſe, yea, eat and drink with all ſorts of ſinners, even becauſe he is to *call not the righteous but ſinners to repentance.* Neceſſary it is that ſome means be left to reclaim notorious offenders, let their diſeaſe be never ſo dangerous. *Neſcio an in extremis aliquid tentare medicina ſit, certè nihil tentare perditio eſt*, who can tell whether in this extremity, were it at the laſt caſt it may ſome way profit, to receive him, but this we all know that altogether to caſt him out of the ſociety of good men, is to cut him off from all outward means of health. The *Leper* in the law though he were excluded the multitude; yet had he acceſs unto the *Prieſt*. Beloved the prieſt in the new law hath much greater priviledge then the ancient had, he was only a judge and could not cure: but this is both a judge and a Phyſician, and can both diſcern and cure the leproſie of our ſouls; wherefore he is not to be excluded from the moſt deſperately ſick perſon. Neither doth this duty concern the prieſt alone. For as *Tertullian* ſometimes ſpake in another caſe; *In majeſtatis reos & publicos hoſtes omnis homo miles eſt.* Againſt Traitors and publick enemies every man is a ſouldier, ſo is it true in this. Every one who is of ſtrength to pull a ſoul out of the fire, is for this buſineſs, by counſel, by advice, by rebuking a prieſt, neither muſt he let him lie there to expect better help. Again, no man ſo ill but hath ſome good thing in him, though it break not out, as being clouded and darkned with much corruption, we muſt take heed, that we do not *pro ſolis comprehendere frequentiſſima* miſtake in thinking there is nothing elſe but evil, where we often ſee it. We muſt therefore entertain even near friendſhip with ſuch a one to diſcover him. *Nemo enim niſi per amicitiam cognoſcitur*, ſaith St. *Auſtine*. No man is perfectly diſcovered, but by his inward acquaintance. As therefore they who ſeek for treaſure give not over by reaſon of clay and mire, ſo long as there is any hope to ſpeed: ſo may we not caſt off our induſtry, though it labour in the moſt polluted ſoul, *ut ad quædam ſana in quorum*

delectatione acquiescamus per charitatis tolerantiam perducamur, that so at length, through charitable patience and long suffering we may discover in him some good things which may content us for the present, and give hope of better things to come. For as they that work in gold and costly matter, diligently save every little piece that falls away: so goodness whersoever it be, is a thing so precious that every little spark of it deserves our care in cherishing. Many miscarry through the want of this patience, in those who undertake them, whilest they despair of them too soon; *dum ita obiurgant quasi oderint*, whilest they rebuke us, as if they hated, and upbraid rather then reprehend. *Transit convitium et intemperantia culpatur, uterque qui periere arguuntur.* As unskilful Physicians, who suffer their patients to die under their hands, to hide their error, blame their patients intemperance: so let us take heed, least it be not so much the strength of the disease, as the want of skill in us which we strive to cover, and vail over with the names of contumacy intemperance or the like. *David* received an expres message from the Prophet, that the childe conceived in adultery should surely die, yet he ceast not his prayers, & tears, and fasting as long as there was life in it: we receive no such certain message concerning any mans miscarriage, and why then should we intermit any office which Christian patience can afford. Wherefore, what *Mecenas* sometime spake loosly in another sense, *debilem facito manu, debilem pede, coxa: lubricos quate dentes: vita dum superest bene est*, that we may apply more properly to our purpose, let our weak person here be lame, hand and foot, hip and thigh, sick in head and heart, yet so long as there is life in him, there is no cause we should despair. How knowest thou how potent the word of God may be through thy ministrie, out of these stones to raise up children unto *Abraham*? I cannot therefore perswade my self, that this *prohibition* of St. *Paul*, of which we but now spake, so far extended, as that it quite interdicted good men the company of the sinners, be they never so grosse. For when he delivered men unto Satan, (the greatest thing that ever he did in this kinde) it was *ad interitum carnis*, to the mortifying of the flesh, that so the spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord. But this is worse, for by this peremptory

remptory excluding the grosse sinner from the good, a greater gap is opened to the liberty of the flesh, and a more immediate way could not be found to bring final destruction on him at that day. The extent therefore of St. *Pauls* precept, though given in shew to all, I take to reach no farther then the weak, and such as are in danger of infection; for the weaker sort of men are always, evermore the most, and a charge given unto the most, is commonly given under the stile of all. Our Apostle therefore jealous of the tenderer sort, whom every unwholsome blast doth easily taint, seems, what he intended for the most to make general to all. The reason which the Apostle gives, does warrant this restraint. *See ye not* (saith he) *that a little leaven sowers the whole lump?* If therefore there be any part of the lump, ἔξω βλὰς out of shot and danger of sowring and contagion, on it this precept can have no extent: and surely some wrong it were to the Church of Christ, to suppose that all were necessarily subject to sowring and infection, upon supposal of some admission of leaven. Evil indeed is infectious, but neither necessarily, nor yet so, that it need fright us from those who are diseased with it. Contagious diseases which ceaze on our bodies, infect by natural force and means, which we cannot prevent: but no man drinks down this poyson, whose will is not the hand that takes the Cup: so that to converse with men of diseas'd mindes infects us not, except we will. Again, *Aristotle* in his problems, makes a question, *why health doth not infect as well as sickness.* For we grow sick many times by incautelously conversing with the diseas'd: but no man grows well by accompanying the healthy: thus indeed it is with the healthiness of the body: it hath no transient force on others, but the strength and healthiness of the minde carries with it a gracious kinde of infection: and common experience tells us, *that nothing profits evil men more then the company of the good.* So that strength of minde accompanied with the preservative of the grace of God, may not only without fear of contagion, safely converse with ungracious sinners, but by so doing, as it were infect them, and make them such as himself is. No cause therefore hitherto, why the true professors, though notorious sinners should not be partakers

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of our Christian Courtesies; and therefore as of the former, so of this my conclusion is, we must receive him. Only let me adde St. *Pauls* words in another place, *Ye that are strong, receive such a one.*

HAving thus far spoken of his *admission*, let us now a little consider of his *Restraint*; and see whether he may have any part in hearing and handling religious controversies; where plainly to speak my minde, as his admission before was, so his exclusion here is much more necessary, the way to these schools should be open to none, but to men of upright life and conversation: and that as well in regard of the prophane and wicked men themselves, as of the cause which they presume to handle: for as for themselves this is but the *field*, wherein they sow and reap their own infamy and disgrace. Our own experience tells us, how hard a thing it is for men of behaviour known to be spotless, to avoid the lash of those mens tongues, who make it their chief fence to disgrace the persons, when they cannot touch the cause. For what else are the writings of many men, but *mutual Pasquils* and *Satyrs* against each others lives, wherein digladiating like *Eschines* and *Demosthenes*, they reciprocally lay open each others filthiness to the view and scorn of the world. The fear therefore of being stained, and publickly disgraced, might be reason enough to keep them back from entring these contentions. And as for the cause it self, into which this kind of men do put themselves, needs must it go but ill with it: for is it possible that those respects which sway and govern their ordinary actions, should have no influence upon their pens? It cannot be, that they who speak, and plot, and act wickedness, should ever write uprightly. *Nam ut in vita, ita et in causis quoq; spes improbas habent*: doubtless, as in their lives, so in the causes they undertake, they nourish hopes full of improbity. Besides all this, the opinion of the common sort is not to be contemned, whom no kind of reason so much abuses, and carries away, as when the discredit of the person is retorted on the cause, which thing our adversaries here at home amongst us know very well, a masterpiece, of whose pollicy it is to put into the hands of the people, such

ſuch pamphlets which hurt not our cauſe at all, but onely diſcredit our perſons. Saint *Chryſoſtome* obſerves out of the ancient cuſtomes of the *Olympian games*, that whenſoever any man offered himſelf to contend in them, he was not to be admitted till publick Proclamation had been made thorowout the multitude to this purpoſe, Whither any man knew him to be either a ſervant, or a thief, or otherwiſe of infamous life. And if any imputation in this kinde were proved againſt him, it was ſufficient to keep him back. Had the Heathen this care that their vanities ſhould not be diſcredited? how great then muſt our care be, that they which enter into theſe exerciſes, be of pure and upright condition? Let mens skill and judgement therefore be never ſo good, yet if their lives be notoriouſly ſubject to exception, Let them know that there is no place for them in *theſe Olympicks*. Men indeed in civil buſineſs have found out a diſtinction betwen an *honeſt* man and a good *Common-wealths-man:* and therefore *Fabricias* in the *Roman* ſtory is much commended for nominating to the *Conſulſhip Ruffinus* a wicked man and his utter enemy, becauſe he knew him to be ſerviceable to the Common-wealth, for thoſe wars which were then depending. But in the buſineſs of the Lord and Common-wealth of God, we can admit of no ſuch diſtinction. For God himſelf in the book of *Pſalms*, ſtaves them off with a *Quid tua ut enarres mea, &c.* What haſt thou to do to take my words into thy mouth ſince thou hateſt to be reformed? The world for the managing of her matters, may imploy ſuch as her ſelf hath fitted: *but let every one who names the name of God depart from iniquity.* For theſe reaſons therefore is it very expedient, that none but right good men ſhould undertake the Lords quarrels, the rather becauſe there is ſome truth in that which *Quintilian* ſpake, *Cogitare optima ſimul & deterrima, non magis eſt unius animi, quam ejuſdem hominis bonum eſſe ac malum.* As impoſſible it is that good and bad thoughts ſhould harbor in the ſame heart, as it is for the ſame man to be joyntly good, and bad. And ſo from the conſideration of this ſick perſon, let us proceed to viſit the next. The weak perſons, I have hitherto treated of are the feweſt as conſiſting in a kinde of extream. For the greateſt

ſort:

ſort of men are in a mediocrity of men eminently good or extreamly ill the number is ſmalleſt; but this rank of ſick perſons that now we are to view is an whole army and may be every one of us, if we do well examine our ſelves, ſhall finde our ſelves in it: For the weak whom we now are to ſpeak of, is he that hath not that degree and perfection of faith and ſtrength of Spiritual conſtitution that he ought to have; Wherefore our *Recipe* here muſt be like the *Tree of life* in the book of the *Revelation*, it muſt be medicine to heal whole nations. For who is he amongſt men that can free himſelf from this weakneſs? Yea, we our ſelves that are ſet over others for their cure, may ſpeak of our ſelves and our charge, as *Iolaus* in *Euripides* doth of himſelf and *Hercules children*, σώζω τὰ δ'ἀσθ@ δεόμεν@ σωτηρίας, we take care of theſe, our ſelves ſtanding in need of others care for us. *Hippocrates* counſels his Phyſician, to look eſpecially, that himſelf be healthy to be εὔχρως, καὶ εὐσάρκως, *fair of colour and full of fleſh*. For otherwiſe ſaith he how can he give comfort and hope of ſucceſs to a ſick patient, who by his ill colour and meagerneſs bewraies ſome imperfection of his own. But what Phyſician of Soul and manners is capable of this counſel; or who is it that taking the cure of others doth not in moſt of his actions bewray his owne diſeaſe? even thus hath it pleaſed God to tie us together with a mutual ſenſe of each others weakneſs, and as our ſelves receive and bear with others; ſo for our ſelves interchangeably muſt we requeſt the ſame courteſie at others hands: Notwithſtanding, as it is with the health of our bodies, no man at any time is perfectly well, only he goes for an healthy man, who is leaſt ſick: ſo fares it with our ſouls, God hath encluded all under the name of weak, ſome peradventure is leſs weak then others but no man is ſtrong. *Infœliciſsimũ Conſolationis genus eſt de miſeriis hominũ peccatorum capere ſolatia.* It is but a miſerable comfort to judg our own perfections only by others defects, yet this is all the comfort we have. Let us leave therefore thoſe who by reaſon of being leſs crazy paſs for healthy, and conſider of thoſe whom ſome ſenſible and eminent imperfection above others hath rank't in the number of the weak. And of thoſe there are ſundry

dry kindes, eſpecially two. One is weake becauſe he is not yet fully informed, not ſo ſufficiently Catechized in the Myſteries of Faith, whom farther Inſtitution may bring to better Maturity. The other peradventure is ſufficiently grounded for principles of Faith, yet is weak, by reaſon either of ſome paſſion or of ſome irritatory and troubleſome humor in his behaviour, *nullum unquam ingenium placuit ſine veniâ.* There is no man ſo perfect, but hath ſomewhat in his behaviour that requireth pardon. As for the imperfection of the former of theſe, It is the weakneſs of infancy and childehood in Faith rather then a diſeaſe: And with this weak man we are eſpecially to bear above all others. For as for him that is weak through groſs and wilful ignorance or contumacy or the like, it is pardonable, if ſometimes we yeild him not that meaſure of curteſie, which were meet, but to be cruel againſt infancy and childehood were inhumanity. The manner of our *Recipe* for theſe men, our Apoſtle ſomewhere expreſſes where he tells us of ſome that muſt *be fed with milk and not ſtrong meat*: Unto theſe we muſt rather be as *Nurſes* then Phyſicians, *ſubmittendo nos ad menſuram diſcentis, & manũ dando & gradũ noſtrã minuendo*, by gently ſubmitting our ſelves to the capacity of the learner, by lending our hand by leſsning our ſteps to keep them in equipace with us till they come up to their full growth. As *Chriſt being God* emptied himſelf, and *became Man* like to us, ſo muſt we lay down our gifts of wit, in which we flatter our ſelves and take our ſelves to be as Gods, and in ſhew and faſhion become like one of them. Grave men have thought it no diſparagement, to have bin ſeen with their little ſons, *Ludere par impar equitare in arundine longâ*, toying and practiſing with them their childiſh ſports: and if any take offence at it, they are ſuch as know not what it is to be Fathers. Thoſe therefore who bear the office of *Fathers* amongſt other men, to bring up the infancy of Babes in Chriſt, muſt not bluſh to practiſe this part of a Father, and out of *Pauls* leſſon of *becoming all to all*, learn to become a childe to children, do it he may very well, without any impeachment to himſelf. He that helps one up that is fallen, *non ſe projicit ut ambo jaceant, ſed incurvat tantum ut jacentem erigat*, throws not

himself down to lie by him, but gently stoops to lift him up again; but of this weak person, I have little need, I trust to speak. For no man in these days can be long weak, but by his own default, so long and careful teaching as hath been and every day is, must needs take from men all pretence of weakness in this kinde. *Nam quid aliud agimus docendo vos, quam ne semper docendi sitis.* For what is the end of all this labor and pains in teaching, but that ye might at length not need a teacher. Wherefore from this I come unto that other weak person, strong in Faith, but *weak in carriage* and behaviour.

Having before proved that Christian curtesie spreads it self to all sorts of men, to the *Infidel*, to the gross *notorious sinner*, then will it without any streining at all come home to all the *infirmities* of our weaker brethren: For that which can endure so great a tempest, how can it be offended with some small drops. Is Christian patience like unto Saint *Peters* resolution, that durst manfully encounter the high Priests servant, yet was danted at the voice of a silly maiden, whatsoever it is that is irksome unto us in the common behaviour of our Brethren, it were strange we should not be able to brook. *Epictetus* conconsidering with himself, the weakness which is usual in men, still to make the worst of what befals us, wittily tells us that every thing in the world hath two handles one turn'd toward us which we may easily take, the other turn'd from us harder to be laid hold of; the first makes all things easie, the second not so, The instance that he brings is my very purpose. "*Be it saith he, thy Brother hath offended thee, here are two hand-fasts, one of the offence, the other of thy Brother. If thou take hold of that of the offence it will be too hot for thee, thou wilt not easily endure the touch of it: but if thou lay hold of that of thy Brother, this will make all behaviour tolerable. There is no part of our Brothers carriage towards us but if we search it, we shall finde, some hand-fast, some circumstance, that will make it easie to be born.*" It we can can finde no other, the circumstance of our Saviour Christs example will never fail. An example which will not only make us to endure the importunity of his ordinary behaviour, but all his outragious dealing whatsoever. For saith *S. Chrysostome*, didst

didst thou know that thy Brother intended particular mischief against thee that he would embrue his hand in thy blood, αὐτὴν φίλησον τὴν δεξίαν, yet kiss that hand, for thy Lord did not refuse to kiss that that mouth that made the bargain for his blood. It is storied of *Protagoras* that being a poor youth and carrying a *burthen of sticks*, he piled so them,and laid them toge. ther, with such art & order,that he made them much more light and easie to be born. Beloved, there is an Art among Christians like unto that of *Protagoras* of so making up and ordering our burthens, that they may lie with much less weight upon our shoulders, this art, if we could learn it, would make us take all in good part at our Brothers hand, were he as bad as *Nabal* was, of whom his own servant complain'd that he was such a man of *Belial that no man could speak unto him.*

Wherefore leaving you to the study, and learning of this most Christian art, I will a little consider for what Reasons we may not admit of these two sorts of weak men to *controversie.* For as for the unlearned, in private, nothing more usual with them then to take offence at our dissentions, and to become more uncertain and unjoynted upon the hearing of any question discust. It is their usual voyce and question to us: Is it possible that we should be at one in these points in which your selves do disagree? thus cast they off, on our backs the burthen of their back-sliding and neutrality, wherefore to acquaint them with disputation in Religion, were as it were to blast them in their infancy, and bring upon them some improsperous Disease to hinder their growth in Christ. Secondly, what one said of other contentions,*In bellis civilibus audacia etiam valet singulorum,*In civil wars no man is too weak to do a mischief, we have found too true in these our *Sacra Bella*; no man is to weak, (I say not) to do mischief, but to be a principal Agent and Captain in them. Simple and unlearned souls train'd up by men of contentious spirits have had strength enough to be Authors of dangerous heresies, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, silly women laden with iniquity were the chief ring-leaders in the error of the *Montanists*, and as it is commonly said, *bellum inchoant inertes, fortes finiunt*, weaklings

are able to begin a quarrel, but the prosecution and finishing is a work for stronger men, so hath it fared here. For that quarrel which these poor souls had raised, *Tertullian* a man of great Wit and Learning is drawn to undertake: so that for a *Barnabas* to be drawn away to error, there needs not always the example and authority of a *Peter*. A third reason is the marvellous violence of the weaker sort in maintaining their conceits, if once they begin to be opiniative. For one thing there is that wonderfully prevails against the reclaiming of them, and that is, the natural jealousie they have of all that is said unto them by men of better wits, stand it with reason never so good, if it sound not as they would have it. A jealousie founded in the sense of their weakness arising out of this that they suspect all to be done for no other end, but to circumvent and abuse them. And therefore when they see themselves to be too weak in reasoning, they easily turn them to violence. The *Monks of Egypt*, otherwise devout, and religious men anciently, were for the most part unlearned, & generally given over to the error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, who held that God had hands and feet and all the parts that a man hath, and was in outward shape and proportion like to one of us. *Theophilus* a Learned Bishop of *Alexandria* having fallen into their hands was so roughly used by them, that ere he could get out of their fingers, he was fain to use his wits and to crave aid of his Equivocating Sophistry and soothly to tell them. *I have seen your face as the face of God.* Now when Christian and Religious doubts, must thus be managed with wilfulness and violence, what mischief may come of it is already so plain, that it needs not my finger to point it out. Wherefore let every such weak person say unto himself, as Saint *Austine* doth, *Tu ratiocinare, ego mirer, disputa tu ego credam*, let others reason I will marvel. Let others dispute I will believe. As for the man strong in passion or rather weak, for the strength of passion is the weakness of the passionate; great reason hath the Church to except against him. For first of all from him it comes that our books are so stuft with contumelious malediction, no heathen writers having left the like example of choller and gross impatience. An hard thing, I know it is to write without

without affection and passion in those things which we love, and therefore it is free so to do, to those who are Lords over themselves. It seems our Saviour gave some way to it himself. For somewhat certainly his Kinsmen saw in his behaviour, when as S. *Mark* reports they went forth to lay hold upon him *thinking he was beside himself*. But for those who have not the command of themselves, better it were they laid it by, S. *Chrysostome* excellently observeth that the *Prophets* of *God*, and *Satan*, were by this notoriously differenced, that they which gave *Oracles* by motion from the *Devil* did it with much impatience and confusion, with a kinde of *fury* and *madness* but they which gave *Oracles* from *God* by *Divine Inspiration*, gave them with all *mildness* and *temper*, If it be the cause of God which we handle in our writings, then let us handle it like the Prophets of God with quietness and moderation, and not in the violence of passion, as if we were possest, rather then inspir'd. Again, what equity or indifferency can we look for in the carriage of that cause, that falls into the handling of these men. *Quis conferre duces meminit qui pendere causas? Quâ stetit inde favet*, what man overtaken with passion remembers impartially to compare cause with cause, and right with right. *Quâ stetit inde favet* — on what cause he happens, that is he resolute to maintain, *ut gladiator in arenam*; as a Fencer to the Stage, so comes he to write, not upon conscience of quarrel, but because he proposes to contend, yea, so potently hath this humor prevail'd with men that have undertaken to maintain a faction, that it hath broken out to the tempting of God, and the dishonour of Martyrdom. Two *Fryers* in *Florence* in the action of *Savonoralla*, voluntarily in the open view of the City, offer'd to enter the fire: so to put an end to the controversie, that he might be judged to have the right who like one of the three children in *Babylon*, should pass untouch't through the fire. But I hasten to visit one weak person more and so an end.

He whom we now are to visit, is a man weak through *heretical* and *erring Faith*, now whether or no, we have any receit for him it may be doubtful; For S. *Paul* advises us to avoid the man, that is, a maker of Sects, knowing him to be damned.

Yet,

yet, if as we spake of not admitting to us the notorious sinner, no not to eat, so we teach of this, that it is delivered respectively to the weaker sort; as justly for the same reasons we may do: we shall have a *Recipe* here for the man that erres in faith, and rejoyceth in making of Sects: which we shall the better do, if we can but gently draw him on to a moderation to think of his conceits only as of opinions; for it is not the variety of opinions, but our own perverse wills, who think it meet, that all should be conceited as our selves are, which hath so inconvenienced the Church, were we not so ready to anathematize each other, where we concur not in opinion, we might in hearts be united, though in our tongues we were divided, and that with singular profit to all sides, *It is the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, and not *Identitie of conceit*, which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians. I will give you one instance, in which at this day our Churches are at variance. The *will of God*, and his manner of proceeding in *predestination* is undiscernable, and shall so remain until that day, wherein all knowledge shall be *made perfect*, yet some there are, who with probability of Scripture teach, that the *true* cause of the *final miscarriage* of them that perish, is that original corruption that befell them at the beginning, increased through the neglect or refusal of grace offered. Others with no less favourable countenance of Scripture, make the cause of reprobation only the will of God, determining, freely of his own work, as himself pleases, without respect to any second cause whatsoever. Were we not ambitiously minded, *familiam ducere*, every one to be Lord of a Sect, each of these tenents might be profitably taught and heard, and matter of singular exhortation drawn from either; for on the one part, doubtless it is a pious and religious intent, to endeavour to free God from all imputation of unnecessary rigour, & his justice from seeming unjustice & incongruity: & on the other side, it is a noble resolution, so to humble our selves under the hand of Almighty God, as that we can with patience hear, yea, think it an honour, that so base creatures as our selves should become the instruments of the glory of so great a majesty, whether it be by eternal life, or by eternal death, though

though for no other reaſon, but for Gods good will and pleaſure ſake. The authors of theſe conceits might both freely (if peaceably) ſpeak their mindes, and both ſingularly profit the Church: for ſince it is impoſſible where Scripture is ambiguous, that all conceits ſhould run alike, it remains, that we ſeek out a way not ſo much to eſtabliſh an unity of opinion in the mindes of all; which I take to be a thing likewiſe impoſſible, as to provide that multiplicity of conceit, trouble not the Churches peace. A better way my conceit cannot reach unto, then that we would be willing to think, that theſe things, which with ſome ſhew of probability we deduce from Scripture are at the beſt, but *our opinions* for this peremptory manner of ſetting down our own concluſions under this high commanding form of *neceſſary truths*, is generally one of the greateſt cauſes, which keeps the Churches this day ſo far aſunder; when as a gracious receiving of each other, by mutual forbearance in this kinde, might peradventure in time bring them nearer together.

This peradventure may ſome man ſay, may content us in caſe of opinion indifferent, out of which no great inconvenience by neceſſary and evident proof is concluded: but what Recipe have we for him that is fallen into ſome known and *deſperate Hereſie*? Even the ſame with the former. And therefore anciently, Heretical and Orthodox Chriſtians, many times even in publick holy exerciſe converſt together without offence. It's noted in the *Eccleſiaſtick* ſtories, that the *Arrians* and *Right believers* ſo communicated together in holy prayers, that you could not diſtinguiſh them till they came to the δοξολογία, the *gloria patri*, which the *Arrians* uſed with ſome difference from other Chriſtians. But thoſe were times *quorum lectionem habemus virtutem non habemus*, we read of them in our books, but we have loſt the practiſe of their patience. Some prejudice was done unto the Church by thoſe, who firſt began to intermingle, with publick *Eccleſiaſtical* duties, things reſpective unto private conceits. For thoſe Chriſtian offices in the Church ought as much as poſſibly they may be common unto all, and not to deſcend to the differences of particular opinions. Severity againſt, and ſeparation from heretical companies, took its beginning from the

Hereticks

Hereticks themſelves: and if we ſearch the ſtories, we ſhall finde that the Church did not at their firſt ariſing thruſt them from her: themſelves went out, and as for ſeverity: that which the *Donatiſts* ſometimes ſpake in their own defence. *Illam eſſe veram Eccleſiam quæ proſecutionem patitur, non quæ facit*, ſhe was the *true Church* not which raiſed, but which ſuffered perſecution was *de facto* true for a great ſpace. For when hereſies and ſchiſmes firſt aroſe in the Church, all kind of violence were uſed by the erring factions, but the Church ſeem'd not for a long time to have known any uſe of a ſword, but only of a buckler, and when ſhe began to uſe the ſword, ſome of her beſt and chiefeſt Captains much miſliked it. The firſt law in this kind that ever was made, was enacted by *Theodoſius* againſt the *Donatiſts*, but with this reſtraint, that it ſhould extend againſt none, but only ſuch as were tumultuous, and till that time they were not ſo much as toucht with any *mulct*, though but pecuniary, till that ſhameful outrage commited againſt Biſh. *Maximian*, whom they beat down with bats and clubs, even as he ſtood at the *Altar*: ſo that not ſo much the error of the *Donatiſts*, as their riots and mutinies were by Imperial laws reſtrained. That the Church had afterward good reaſon to think, that ſhe ought to be *ſalubrior quam dulcior*, that ſometimes there was more mercy in puniſhing, then forbearing there can no doubt be made. St. *Auſtine* (a man of as milde and gentle ſpirit as ever bare rule in the Church) having according to his natural ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, earneſtly written againſt *violent*, and ſharp dealing with Hereticks: being taught by experience, did afterward retract, and confeſs an excellent uſe of wholſome ſeverity in the Church. Yet could I wiſh that it might be ſaid of the Church, which was ſometimes obſerved of *Auguſtus*. *In nullius unquam ſuorum necem duravit*: he had been angry with, and ſeverely puniſht many of his kin, but he could never endure to cut any of them off by death. But this I muſt requeſt you to take only as my private wiſh, and not as a cenſure, if any thing have been done to the contrary. When *Abſolom* was up in arms againſt his Father, it was neceſſary for *David* to take order to curb him, and pull him on his knees, yet we ſee how careful he was, he ſhould not die,

and

and how lamentably he bewail'd him in his death: what cause was it that drove *David* into this extream passion? Was it doubt of heire to the Kingdome? That could not be. For *Solomon* was now born, to whom the promise of the Kingdom was made, was it the strength of natural affection? I somewhat doubt of it. Three year together was *Absolom* in banishment, and *David* did not very eagerly desire to see him. The Scripture indeed notes that the King long'd for him: yet in this longing was there not any such fiercenes of passion: for *Absolom* saw not the Kings face for two years more after his return from banishment to *Hierusalem*. What then might be the cause of his strength of passion, and commiseration in the King? I perswade my self it was the fear of his sons final miscarriage, and *reprobation*, which made the King (secure of the mercies of God unto himself) to wish he had died in his steed, that so he might have gain'd for his ungracious childe, some time of repentance. The Church who is the common mother of us all, when her *Absoloms*, her unnatural sons do lift up their hands and pens against her, must so use means to repress them, that she forget not that they are the sons of her womb, and be compassionate over them as *David* was over *Absolom*, loath to unsheath either sword, but most of all the temporal, for this were to send them with quick dispatch to Hell.

And here I may not pass by that *singular moderation of this Church of ours*, which she hath most christianly expresst towards her adversaries of *Rome*, here at home in her bosome above all the reformed Churches, I have read of. For out of desire to make the breach seem no greater, then indeed it is, and to hold communion and Christian fellowship with her, so far as we possibly can, we have done nothing to cut of the favourers of that Church. The reasons of their love and respects to the Church of *Rome* we wish, but we do not command them to lay down: their lay-Brethren have all means of instruction offered them. Our Edicts and Statutes made for their restraint, are such as serve only to awake them, and cause them to consider the innocency of that cause for refusal of communion, in which they endure (as they suppose) so great losses. Those who are sent o-

ver by them, either for the retaining of the already perverted, or perverting others, are either return'd by us back again to them, who diſpatcht them to us, or without any wrong unto their perſons, or danger to their lives, ſuffer an eaſie reſtraint, which only hinders them from diſperſing the poyſon they brought. And had they not been ſtickling in our ſtate-buſineſs, and medling with our Princes crown, there had not a drop of their blood fallen to the ground; unto our Sermons, in which the ſwarvings of that Church are neceſſarily to be taxt by us, we do not binde their preſence, only our deſire is, they would joyn with us in thoſe *Prayers*, and *holy ceremonies*, which are common to them and us. And ſo accordingly, by ſingular diſcretion was *our Service-Book* compiled by our Fore-fathers, as containing nothing that might offend them, as being almoſt meerly a *compendium* of their own *Breviary* and *Miſſal*, ſo that they ſhall ſee nothing in our meetings, but that they ſhall ſee done in their own, though many things which are in theirs, here I grant they ſhall not finde. And here indeed is the great and main difference betwixt us. As it is in the controverſie concerning the *Canonical books of Scripture*: whatſoever we hold for Scripture, that even by that Church is maintained, only ſhe takes upon her to adde much, which we cannot think ſafe to admit: ſo fares it in other points of Faith and *Ceremony*; whatſoever it is we hold for faith, ſhe holds it as far forth as we; our ceremonies are taken from her; only ſhe over and above urges ſome things for faith, which we take to be error, or at the beſt but opinion, and for ceremony which we think to be ſuperſtition. So that to participate with us, is, though not throughout, yet in ſome good meaſure to participate with that Church: and certainly were that ſpirit of charity ſtirring in them, which ought to be, they would love and honour us, even for the reſemblance of that Church, the beauty of which themſelves ſo much admire. The glory of theſe our proceedings, even our adverſaries themſelves do much envy. So that from hence it is, that in their writings they traduce our judiciary proceedings againſt them, for ſanguinary and violent, ſtriving to perſwade other nations, that ſuch as have ſuffered by courſe of publick juſtice for religion only, and not for

treaſon

treaſon have died, and pretend we what we liſt, our actions are as bloody and cruel as their own: wherefore if a perfect pattern of dealing with erring Chriſtians were to be ſought, there were not any like unto this of ours, *In qua nec ſæviendi, nec errandi peræundique licentia permittitur*, which as it takes not to it ſelf liberty of cruelty, ſo it leaves not unto any the liberty of deſtroying their own ſouls in the error of their lives. And now that we may at once conclude this point concerning *Hereticks*, for prohibiting theſe men acceſs to religious diſputations, it is now too late to diſpute of that, for from this that they have already unadviſedly entred into theſe battels, are they become that which they are: Let us leave them therefore as a ſufficient example and inſtance of the danger of intempeſtive and immodeſt medling in Sacred diſputes.

I ſee it may be well expected, that I ſhould according to my promiſe adde inſtruction for the *publick Magiſtrate*, and ſhow how far this precept in receiving the weak concerns him.

I muſt confeſs I intended and promiſed ſo to do, but I cannot conceive of it, as a thing befitting me to ſtep out of my ſtudy, and give rules for government to Commonwealths, a thing befitting men of greater experience to do. Wherefore I hope you will pardon me if I keep not that promiſe, which I ſhall with leſs offence break then obſerve: And this I rather do, becauſe I ſuppoſe this precept, to concern us, eſpecially if not only as private men, and that in caſe of publick proceeding, there is ſcarce room for it. Private men may paſs over offences at their pleaſure, and may be in not doing it, they do worſe: but thus to do, lies not in the power of the Magiſtrate, who goes by laws, preſcribing him what he is to do. Princes and men in authority do many times much abuſe themſelves by affecting a reputation of clemency, in pardoning wrongs done to other men; and giving protection to ſundry offenders, againſt thoſe who have juſt cauſe to proceed againſt them. It is mercy to pardon wrong done againſt our ſelves, but to denie the courſe of Juſtice to him that calls for it, and to protect offenders, may peradventure be ſome inconſiderate pity, but mercy it cannot be. All therefore that I will preſume to

adviſe the *Magiſtrate* is, *A general inclinableneſſe to merciful proceeding.*

And ſo I conclude, wiſhing unto them who plentifully ſowe mercy, plentifully to Reap it at the hand of God, with an hundred fold encreaſe; and that bleſſing from God the Father of mercies, may be upon them all, as on the ſons of mercy, as many as are the ſands on the Sea-ſhore in multitude. The ſame God grant that the words which we have heard this day. &c.

Luke

A Sermon Preached on Eaſter-day *at* Eaton Colledge.

Luke 16. 25.

Son remember that thou in thy life time receiv'dſt thy good things.

I Have heard a *Proverb* to this ſound, *He that hath a debt to pay at Eaſter, thinks the Lent but ſhort*: How ſhort this *Lent* hath ſeemed to me, who ſtand indebted unto you for the remainder of my meditations upon theſe words, is no mater of conſequence; to you peradventure it may have ſeemed ſo long, that what you lately heard at *Shrovetide*, now at *Eaſter* you may with pardon have forgotten. I will therefore recal into your memories ſo much of my former Meditations as may ſerve to open unto me a convenient way to purſue the reſt of thoſe leſſons, which then, when I laſt ſpake unto you, the time and your patience would not permit me to finiſh. But ere I do this, I will take leave a little to fit my *Text* unto this time of Solemnity:

This time, you know, calls for a diſcourſe concerning, the Reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; of this you hear no ſound in the words, which I have read, and therefore you conclude it a Text unbefitting the day. Indeed, if you take the *Reſurrection* for that *glorious* act of his *Omnipotency*, by which through the *power of his eternal Spirit* he redeems himſelf from the hand of the grave, and triumphs over death and hell, you ſhall in

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theſe words find nothing pertinent; But if you take this Reſurrection for that act, by which, through the *power* of *ſaving grace*, Chriſt the Son of righteouſnes riſes in our hearts, & raiſes us from the death of ſin unto the *life of righteouſneſs*, here in theſe words you may perchance finde a notable branch of it. For to raiſe our thoughts from this earth, and clay, and from things beneath (and ſuch are thoſe, which here *Abraham* calls *the good things of our life*) and to ſet them above, where *Chriſt ſits at the right hand of God*, this is that practick reſurrection, which above all concerns us, that other of *Chriſt* in perſon, in regard of us, is but a *reſurrection in ſpeculation*, for to him that is dead in ſin and treſpaſſes, and who places his *good* in the things of this life, Chriſt is, as it were not riſen at all, to ſuch a one he is ſtill in the *grave*, and under the bands of death: But to him that is riſen with *Chriſt*, & ſeeks the good *things that are above*, to him alone is Chriſt riſen: To know and *believe* perfectly the whole ſtory of Chriſt's Reſurrection, what were it, if we did not practice this Reſurrection of our own? *Cogita non exacturum à te Deum, quantum cognoveris, ſed quantum vixeris, God will not reckon with thee, how much thou knoweſt, but how well thou haſt lived: Epictetus*, that great Philoſopher makes this pretty *parable*, ſhould a *ſhepherd*, ſaith he, call his ſheep to account, how they had profited, would he like of that ſheep, which brought before him his *hay*, his *graſs*, and *fodder*, or rather that *ſheep*, which having well digeſted all theſe, expreſt himſelf in fat, in fleſh, and wooll? Beloved, you are the flock of Chriſt, and the ſheep of his hands, ſhould the great Shepherd of the flock call you before him, to ſee how you have profited, would he content himſelf with this, that you had well *cond* your *Catechiſme*, that you had diligently read the *Goſpel*, and exactly knew the whole ſtory of the *reſurrection*? would it not give him better ſatisfaction to finde Chriſt's reſurrection expreſt in yours: and as it were digeſted into *fleſh* and *wooll*? ἐ γὰρ ἀρέσκει τοῦτο ἐςὶ χρύσιππον ἀναγινώσκειν, *To have read Chryſippus his Book, this is not virtue*: To have read the Goſpel, to have gathered all the circumſtances of the reſurrection of Chriſt, this is not Chriſtianity: to have *riſen*, as *Chriſt*, hath done, ſo to have *digeſted* the *reſurrection* of *Chriſt*, as that we have

have made it our *own*, this is rightly to underſtand the Doctrine of the reſurrection of Chriſt. For this cauſe have I refuſed to treat this day of that reſurrection, in the *Doctrine* of which I know you are *perfect*, and have reflected on that, in the knowledge of which I fear you are imperfect: which that I might the better do, I have made choice to proſecute my former meditations, begun when I laſt ſpake unto you in this place; For ſo doing I ſhall open unto you one of the hardeſt points of your *Spiritual reſurrection*, even to raiſe your thoughts from the things of this life, and ſeat them with Chriſt above.

To make my way more fair to this, I will take leave to put you in minde, in ſhort, how I proceeded in the opening of theſe words, when I laſt ſpake unto you out of this place: You may be pleaſed to remember, that after ſome inſtruction drawn from the firſt word, *Son*, I proceeded to conſider the enſuing words, wherein having by an *Alchimie*, which then I uſed, changed the word [*Recordare*] *Remember*, into [*Cave*] *Beware*, and ſo read my text thus, *Beware thou receive not thy good things in this life*, I ſhewed you that we had never greater cauſe to conſult our beſt wits, what we are to do, and how we are to carry our ſelves, then when the world, and outward bleſſings come upon us; Upon this I moved this Queſtion, *Whether* or no, *if the things of this world ſhould by ſome providence of God knock and offer themſelves to us, we are bound to exclude them and refuſe them*, or *we might open and admit of them*: I divided my anſwer according to the *divers* abilities and ſtrengths of men, firſt, *qui poteſt capere capiat*, he that hath ſtrength and ſpiritual wiſdom to manage them, let him receive them: But in the *ſecond* place, he that is *weak*, let him let ſtrong diet alone, and *feed on herbs*, let him not intangle himſelf with more then he can manage; Let him try, *quid ferre recuſent, Quid valeant humeri* — to the *firſt*, the ſum of what I ſpake was this, Receive them we may, and that with out danger of a *Recepiſti*; *firſt*, if we ſo *received* them, as if we received them not, *ſecondly* if we eſteemed them not *good*, *thirdly* if we did not eſteem them *ours*: And here the time cut me off, and ſuffered me not to deſcend unto the *ſecond* part, upon which now I am about to fall, *Cave ne recipias*, *Take heed thou receive not thy good things.*

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In this matter of *Receiving* & enterteining theſe *outward* and foreign *good things*, there have been *two* wayes commended to you, the one the more glorious, to receive them, of this we have ſpoken the *other* the more *ſafe*, not to receive them, of this we are now to ſpeak; theſe ways are trodden by *two* kindes of perſons, the one is the *ſtrong* man, and more virtuous, the other is *weaker*, but more cautelous, the one incounters temptation, the other avoids it: we may compare them to the two great Captains, *Hannibal* and *Fabius*, the one ever calling for the battel the other evermore declining it. In one of theſe two rankes muſt every good man be found; If we compare them together we ſhall finde, that the one is far more excellent, the other far more in number: For to be able to meet and check our enemy, to incounter occaſions, to act our parts in common life upon the common ſtage, and yet to keep our uprightneſs, this indeed is truly to *live*, truly to *ſerve God*, and men, and therefore God the more, becauſe men. On the contrary to avoid occaſions, to follow that other *vincendi genus*, *non pugnare*, to overcome the world by contemning and avoding it, this argues a wiſe, indeed but a weak and fainting ſpirit: I have often wondred at *Antiquity*, which doting extremely upon a ſequeſtred, a *ſolitary*, retired, and monkiſh life, ſticks not to give out, that all *perfection* is in it, whereas indeed there is no greater argument of imperfection in good men, *quam non poſſe pati ſolem, non multitudinem, not to be able* without offence to walk the *publick* ways, to entertain the common occaſions, but to live onely to God and to *themſelves*, *utilis ipſe ſibi fortaſsis, inutilis orbi*, men of no great publike uſe, but excellent for themſelves; *Saints* indeed in *private*, but being called forth into common life, are like *Bats* in the *Sun*, utterly ignorant of publike practice, like *Scheubelius* a great *Mathematician*, but by book onely, and not by practice, who being required ſometime in an Army to make uſe of his *Quadrant*, knew not the difference between *umbra recta*, and *umbra verſa*: yet, beloved, becauſe this kinde of good men is by far the greateſt in number, and *ſecondly* becauſe it is both an *uſual* and a dangerous error of many men, to pretend to ſtrength, when they are but weak, and ſo forgetting their place, range themſelves among the *firſt*, whereas they ought

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to have kept ſtation among the *ſecond* ſort, I will take leave both to adviſe my ſelf, and all that hear me, to like better of the ſafer, though the weaker ſide, and to avoid the *exprobration* of a *Recepiſti* here in my text, ſimply *non recipiendo, by not receiving*, not *admitting* at all of the outward, lower, and temporal good things, rather than by an improvident foolhardineſs to thruſt our ſelves upon occaſions which we are unable to manage without offence. This I am the more willing to do, becauſe there is not among men a greater error committed, and more frequent, than in this kinde; for in moſt things in the world, men that have no skill in them, will be content to acknowledge their ignorance, and to give place to better experience: ſhould we put the diſcuſsion of ſome point of *Scholarſhip* to the *plough-hind*, or a Caſe in *Law* to the Phyſician, or a point in *Phyſick* to the Lawyer, none of theſe will offer to interpoſe, but will adviſe to conſult with every one in his proper myſtery; but let offer be made of moneys, lands, places of honour, and preferment, and who will excuſe himſelf, who will acknowledge his ignorance, or weakneſs to manage them? Whereas in all the Arts and Sciences there are not ſo many errors committed, as in the unskilful uſe of theſe things, *cum tamen nuſquam periculoſius erretur*, and yet our errors are no where ſo dangerous: It is therefore a thing moſt neceſſary, that in this behalf we adviſe men, either to know their *weakneſs* or to *ſuſpect* their *ſtrength*. *Malo cautior eſſe quam fortior, fortis ſæpe captus eſt, cautus rariſsime*; better to be cautelous and wary than ſtrong, and hardy, the ſtrong man hath been often captivated, but the wary man very ſeldome. We read in many places of *Moſes* and *Samuel* of a race of men, *greater* in bulk and ſtature, than the ordinary men, unto whom men of common inches ſeemed but as *Graſhoppers*; ſuch were the *Anakims*, the *Enims*, the *Horims*, the *Zamzummims*, the *Rephaims*, and the like, but if you read the Scriptures, you ſhall finde it obſerved unto your hand, that the men of leſſer bodies allways drove them out; if you demand the reaſon, experience will anſwer you, that the one went upon the opinion of ſtrength and hardneſs, the other of wary wit, and policy; it fares no otherwiſe with theſe two orders of men, of which I have ſpoken, there is the *Anakim*,

the man that goes forth in the conceit of his ſtrength and valour, there is the man of *mean ſtature*, whoſe ſtrength is his wariness; were there a ſurvey taken of both thoſe, it would be found, that more by far have periſhed by unadviſed adventuring upon the things of this world, than by diſcreet and ſober retiring.

Wherefore, doſt thou finde that thou comeſt on, and thriveſt in the world, that the good things of this world wooe thee, and caſt themſelves into thy lap, that wealth, that honours, that abundance waits upon thee; take heed how thou preſume of thy ſtrength to manage them, look well upon them, and ſee if there be not written in the forehead of every one of them, *Recepiſti*; but, beloved, I perceive, I deceive my ſelf, for theſe gay things of the world carry not their *recepiſti* in their *foreheads*, as they come *towards* us, they are *ſmooth* and *fair*: you can prognoſticate nothing by their countenance, but *ſerene*, and *ſummer* weather, our great maſter *Ariſtotle* hath told us, that if our *pleaſures* did look upon us, when they come to us, as they do when they turn their back, and *leave* us, we would never entertain them; theſe goodly things have their *recepiſti* written in their back, it is never diſcovered, till it be too late to mend it, when death ſummons us, when the world, the fleſh, the glory and pomp of life turns its *back* & *leaves us*, then ſhal you read *recepiſti*: *Cave* therefore, preſume not, but be wary, and that thou mayeſt avoid a *recepiſti*, *cave ne recipias*, be ſure thou receive not; how many of thoſe think you, who out of their opinion of skill and ſtrength, have given free entertainment to the world, have made large uſe of the world, lived *abundantly*, fared coſtly, dwelt ſumptuouſly, clothed themſelves richly, when their time and houre came, would rather have gone out of ſome *poor cottage*, than out of a *princely palace*, and lived with no noiſe in the world, that ſo they might have died in ſome peace? See you not, what ſome *great* perſons in the *Church* of *Rome* have often done? *Charles* 5. the *Prince* of *Parma*, ſundry others, though they lived in all pomp and ſtate, yet at their death, they deſired to be buried in a poor *Capuchins hood*; miſerable men, If to *die* in a ſtate of perfect ſequeſtration from the world were ſo precious, ſo available a thing, how much more precious, more

available

available had it been, to live in it? For thus to die, not having thus lived, is nothing elſe, but to give ſentence againſt their own life; for we ſhall not appear before God as we died, but as we lived. To profeſs hate, and deſertion of the world at our death, as moſt do, to put on humiliation at our death, that live at eaſe and in ſtate all our life, this is but to be *buried in a Capuchins hood*; what is it, beloved, that thus reforms our judgement, and clears our ſight at that houre? Nothing but this, all our pleaſures, all our honours, all the *May-games* of our life, they now ſhall ſhew themſelves unto us, and every one cry out unto us, *Recipiſti, Thou haſt received thy good things.*

Now, beloved, that I may a little the better ſtrengthen with good reaſon this my advice, *de non recipiendo*, of retiring from, and *rejecting* the goodly things of the world, give me leave a little to conſult with my Topicks, and to try out of what place I may draw ſome arguments, to bring you on the eaſier.

And firſt of all, were there no other reaſon to perſwade you, yet the very reading of this ſtory, where I have taken my text, would afford arguments enough; for what meant *Abraham*, I beſeech you, when he told the *rich man, he had received his good things*? Did he uſe ſome obſcure and unknown phraſe, which no circumſtance of the ſtory could open? It ſtands not with the goodneſs of the *Holy Ghoſt*, to tell us of our danger in unknown language; ſomething therefore certainly we ſhall finde, to *open* the meaning: caſt back your eye upon the *deſcription* of the perſon, whom *Abraham* charges with this error, and ſee if you finde not a paraphraſe there; the man to whom this phraſe is applied is deſcribed by the *properties*, of which I underſtand not that any one is a *virtue*, firſt it is ſaid, *he was rich*; ſecondly, he *ware ſcarlet*, and *ſoft linnen*; thirdly, he was εὐφραινόμενος, he was *jovial*, and feaſted liberally every day; doth not this accurate deſcription of the *perſon* ſhew his error? For to what other purpoſe elſe could this deſcription ſerve? Either here is his error, or this character is in vain; it ſeems therefore we muſt conclude, that to be rich, to cloth our ſelves coſtly, to fare deliciouſly, thus to do, is *to receive the good things in our life*, except ſome favourable interpretation do help us out; but we

must take heed how we do *de scripturis interpretationibus ludere*, dally with, and elude scripture by interpretations, νοεῖσθω ὡς γέγραπται, when St. *John* describes the world, which he *forbids* us to follow, he makes *three* parts of it, the *lust of the flesh*, the *lust of the eye*, and the *pride of life*. Do not all these *three* appear here in the *character* of our man? where is the *lust of the eye*, if it be not in *gaudy apparel*? Where is the *lust of the flesh*, at least one great branch of it, if it be not in the use of *dainty diet*? Where is the *pride of life*, if not in *riches*? and what reason have you now to doubt, what should be the meaning of *recepisti*, thou *hast received thy good things*? He then that fears to hear a *recepisti*, if he be *rich*, let him not forget to distribute, and empty those *bags*, which lie up by him; if he be costly clad, let him turn his scarlet into sackcloth; if he feed deliciously, let him turn his *costly dishes* into temperance, and fasting: otherwise, what can we plead for our selves, that we should not, as well as this man in my *text*, when our time comes, hear our *recepisti*?

But I see what it is, peradventure, that troubles you, you will ask me, whether I will avouch it to be a sin to be *rich*, I must walk warily, least I lay my self open to exception; *Pelagius* grounding himself upon that of our *Saviour*. [*It is impossible for a rich man to enter into the Kingdome of Heaven*,] taught that lesson indeed, as the words do lie, and would by no means grant, that a rich man could be saved; but for this the Church noted him for an *Heretick*, for among his heresies this is scored up for one, together with that, that *it is not lawful to swear*; but if *Pelagius* had never otherwise erred, the Church might very well have pardoned him that heresie: many times it falls out by the reason of the hardness of our hearts, that there is more danger in pressing some truths, than in maintaining some errors: that it is lawful sometime to *sport* our selves, that it is lawful to *feast* at *Christmas*, that it is lawful to *swear*, and many other things of the like nature, are all *truths*; yet there is no necessity we should press them in our sermons to the people, for there is no fear the people will ever forget these, *Cavendum est ne nimium meminerint*, better to labour that they do not too much remember them; he that will labour in repressing the abuses, which people ground

ground upon theſe truths, muſt remember the old rule. *Iniquum petendum eſt, ut æquum feras,* he muſt go very near to teach for truth the contrary falſhood. To return then from this digreſſion to our *rich* man, *Pelagius*, I grant, was deceived, when he ſhut all rich men out of the Kingdome of Heaven: but ſuppoſe we that he had prevailed in this doctrine, that he had wrought all the world to this bent, that the Church had received it for Catholick doctrine, ſhew me, he that can, what inconvenience would have attended this error? If every *rich* man ſhould ſuddenly become *liberal*, and disburſe his moneys, where his charity directed him; if every *painted gallant* did turn his Peacocks feathers into ſackcloth; if every *glutton* left his *full diſhes*, and betook himſelf to temperance and *faſting*, yea, and thought himſelf in conſcience bound ſo to do, out of fear, leaſt he might hear of *Recepiſti*, I perſwade my ſelf the *ſtate of Greece* would never *ſuffer* the more for this, but the ſtate of *Chriſtianity* would have thrived the more. Well had it been for our rich man here, if he had been a *Pelagian*; for this point of *Pelagianiſme* is the ſureſt remedy, that I know, againſt a *Recepiſti*; whereas on the contrary ſide, by reaſon of the truth, many rich and covetous perſons flatter themſelves in their ſin, whereof they die well conceipted, from which they had been freed, had it been their good fortune to have been thus far deceived, and been *Pelagians*. Let men therefore either quite *refuſe riches*, if they *offer* themſelves, which is the advice I give, or if they will give them acceptance, let them believe, that if they be rich, they may be ſaved, but let them ſo *live*, as if they could *not*; for the one ſhall keep them from error in their faith, the other from *ſin* in their *Actions*.

A ſecond reaſon, perſwading us to the neglect of theſe ſo much admired things of the *world*, is the conſideration of certain *abuſes*, which they put upon us, certain *fallacies*, and *falſe gloſſes*, by which they delude us; for I know not how, the world hath cried them up, and hath given them goodly titles, *ut vel lactis gallinacei ſperare poſſis hauſtum*, as *Pliny* ſpeaks; men call them bleſſings and favours, and rewards, and think thoſe men moſt bleſt of God, who injoy moſt of them; theſe goodly titles ſerve for

for nothing, but to ſet men on longing after them, and ſo fill thoſe, that have them, with falſe perſwaſions, and thoſe that have them not with deſpair and diſcontents; were they indeed bleſſings; were they rewards, then were our caſe very evil, and we our ſelves in greater danger of a *recepiſti*, than before: for as *Abraham* here tells the man of *recepiſti bona*, *thou haſt received thy good things*, ſo our *Saviour* tells more than once of ſome *qui habent mercedem*, have their reward; if then we ſhall beg, and receive theſe things at the hands of God, as a reward of our ſervice, we ſhall be no more able, when we come to appear before our God, to ſhelter our ſelves from an *habetis mercedem*, you have your reward, then the rich man here could defend himſelf from a *recepiſti*. They may indeed paſs for rewards, and bleſſings, and that truly too, but to a *ſad*, and diſconſolate end; for their is no man, though never ſo wicked, but that ſome way or other doth ſome good, ſome *cup* of *cold water* hath been given, ſome ſmall ſervice enterprized even by the worſt of men: now God who leaves no ſervice unrewarded, no good office unreſpected, therefore preſerves theſe ſublunary bleſſings of purpoſe, *ut paria faciat*, to *clear accounts* with men here, who otherwiſe might ſeem to claim ſomething at his hand, at that great day; It is the queſtion *Ahaſuerus* makes, *What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this?* God is more careful of his honour, than *Ahaſuerus* was; none more careſul than he, to reward every ſervice with ſome honour: *Nebuchadnezzar* was no Saint, I trow, yet becauſe of his long ſervice in the ſubduing of *Tyre*, God gives him *Ægypt* for his reward, they are the Prophet *Ezechiels* words: when therefore thou ſeeſt *God* willing to bring the world upon thee, to inrich thee, to raiſe thee to honours, *ſuſpectam habe hanc Domini indulgentiam*, as *Tertullian* ſaith, *be jealous of this courteſie of God*, or rather cry out with St. *Bernard*, *Miſericordiam hanc nolo Domine*, O Lord, *I will none of this kinde of mercy*: for how knoweſt thou whether he reward not thee, as he did *Nebuchadnezzar* only to *even accounts* with thee, and ſhew thee that he is not in thy debt, that thou mayeſt hear at the laſt either a *recepiſti*, or an *habes mercedem*, thou *haſt thy reward*? *O quanta apud Deum merces, ſi in præſenti præmium non ſperarent*, ſaith St. *Hie-*

St. *Hierome*, *O how great a reward might many men receive at the hand of God, if they did not anticipate their reward and desire it in this life?* Why do we capitulate with him for our services? Why not rather out of pious ambition desire to have God in our debt? He that doth God the greatest service, and receives here from him the least reward, is the *happiest* man in the world; there goes a story of *Aquinas*, that praying once before the Crucifix, the Crucifix miraculously speaks thus unto him, *Bene de me scripsisti Thoma, quam ergo mercedem accipies? Thou hast written well of me, Thomas, what reward dost thou desire?* To whom *Aquinas* is made to answer, *Nullam, Domine, præter Teipsum; no reward, Lord, but thyself:* 'tis great pity this tale is not true, it doth so excellently teach, what to ask of God for our reward in his service. Let God but assure thee of this reward, *cætera omnia vota Deo remittas*, thou mayest very well pardon him all the rest: let us therefore amend our language, and leave off these solecisms and misapplied denominations of blessings, and favours, and rewards, names too high for any thing under the *moon*, and at our leisure finde out other names to express them; as for this great esteem, which we make of the things below, it comes but from this, that we know not the value of things above; did we believe our selves to be the heirs, and the sons of God, and knew the price of our inheritance in Heaven, it could not be, that we should harbour so high and honourable conceits of earthly things; it is a famous speech of Martin Luther, *Homo perfecte credens se esse hæredem et filium Dei, non diu superstes maneret, sed statim immodico gaudeo absorberetur: Did a man indeed believe that he is a son and heir unto God, it could not be, that such a man should long live, but forthwith he would be swallowed up, and die of immoderate joy:* And certainly either our not believing, or not rightly valuing the things of God, or howsoever, not knowing them, is the cause of this our languishing, and impatient longing after earthly things; It is but a plain comparison which I shall use, yet because it fits the person, to whom I will apply it, and because it is *Theophylacts* in his Comments on St. *Lukes Gospel*, I will not be ashamed to make use of it; *Swine*, saith he, *have their eyes so fram'd, that they cannot look up to Heaven; their keepers therefore*

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when they finde themſelves troubled with their crying, are *wont to caſt them upon their backs,* ἵνα μετεώτερον πείθωσι βοᾶν, *and ſo make them ceaſe their crying,* for that beaſt being amazed to ſee the *frame* and beauty of Heaven, which before he had never ſeen, ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ σιγᾶν, being ſtricken with admiration, forgets his crying; the eyes of many men ſeem to be framed like thoſe of *Swine,* they are not able to caſt them *up* to Heaven, for would they but caſt themſelves upon their backs, turn their face from earth, and view the beauty of things above, it could not be, but all this claim, or rather clamour after earthly things ſhould utterly ceaſe.

Again, (yet the more to quicken one to the neglect of theſe things below) among many other *fallacies,* by which they delude us, I have made choice of one more, they preſent themſelves unto us, ſometimes as *neceſſaries,* ſometimes as *Ornaments* unto us in our courſe of vertue and happineſs; whereas they are but meer impertinences, neither is it any way material, whether we have them yea or no; *virtus cenſum non requirit, nudo homine contenta eſt, virtue and happineſs require nothing elſe but a man:* Thus ſay the Ethnickes: And *Chriſtianity* much more: For it were a ſtrange thing that we ſhould think that Chriſt came to make *virtue* more chargable: In regard of virtue and *piety,* all eſtates, all conditions, high and low, are alike: It is noted by *Petronius* for the vanity of rich men, *Qui ſolas divitias extruere curant, nihil volunt inter homines melius credi, quã quod ipſi tenent, thoſe men whoſe minds are ſet upon wealth and riches, would have all men believe that it is beſt ſo to do:* But riches and poverty make no difference, for we believe him that hath told us, there *is no difference, Jew and Gentile, high and low, rich and poor, all are one in Chriſt Jeſus, Non naturæ paupertas, ſed opinionis eſt,* ſaith *S. Ambroſe, Poverty,* as men call it, *is but a phanſie,* there is no ſuch thing indeed, it is but a Figment, an Idol, men firſt framed it, and ſet it up, and afterward feared it, *oculi noſtri tota hæc luxuria eſt;* as ſome *Naturaliſts* tell us that the *Rain bow* is *oculi opus,* a *thing* framed onely by the *eye,* ſo this difference betwixt *rich* and *poor* is but the *creature* of the *eye. Smindyrides* the *Sybarite* was grown ſo extremely dainty, that he would grow weary with the ſight of ano-

another mans labour, and therefore when ſometime he ſaw a *poor* man digging, and painfully labouring, he began to *faint*, and *pant*, and requires to be removed: Beloved, when we are thus offended to ſee another man meanly clad, meanly houſed, meanly traded, all this is but out of a *Sybaritiſh* ridiculous daintineſs, for all this is but to *grow weary at the ſight of another mans labour*: would we follow our Saviours precept, and *put out this eye of ours*, the greateſt part of all this vanity were quite extinguiſht, for what were all outward ſtate and pompe imaginable, were no eye to ſee or regard it?

Now, beloved, yet to ſee this more plainly, what is the main end of our life? what is it, at which with ſo much pain and labour we ſtrive to arrive? It is, or ſhould be nothing elſe but *virtue* and *happineſs*: Now theſe are alike purchaſable in all eſtates; Poverty, *diſeaſe*, diſtreſs, contumely, contempt, theſe are as well the object of *virtue*, as *wealth*, liberty, honor, reputation, and the reſt of that foreſpoken rank: *Happineſs* therefore may as well dwell with the poor, miſerable, and diſtreſſed perſons, as with perſons of *better fortune*, ſince it is confeſt by all, that *happineſs* is nothing elſe but *Actio ſecundum virtutem*, a *leading of our life according to virtue*; As great art may be expreſt in the *cutting* of a *flint*, as in the cutting of a *diamond*, and ſo the workman do well expreſs his *skill*, no man will blame him for the baſeneſs of the *matter*, or think the worſe of his work: Beloved, ſome man hath a *diamond*, a fair and glittering fortune, ſome man hath a *flint*, a hard, harſh, and deſpicable fortune, let him beſtow the ſame skill and care in poliſhing and cutting of the *latter*, as he would or could have done on the *former*, and be confident it will be as highly valued (if not more highly rewarded) by *God* who is *no accepter of perſons*, but *accepteth every man according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not*; To him let us commit our ſelves: To him be all honour and praiſe, now and *for ever*. Amen.

FINIS.

Numbers 35. verſe 33.

And the Land cannot be cleanſed of blood, that is ſhed in it; but by the blood of him that ſhed it.

THeſe words are like unto a *Scorpion*: for as in that, ſo in theſe, the ſelf ſame thing is both *Poyſon*, and *remedy*. Blood is the *poyſon*, Blood is the *Remedy*, he that is ſtricken with the *Scorpion*, muſt take the *oyle of the Scorpion* to cure him. He that hath *poyſon'd* a Land with the ſin of blood, muſt yield his own blood for *Antidote* to cure it. It might ſeem ſtrange, that I ſhould amongſt Chriſtians thus come and deliver a ſpeech of Blood. For when I read the notes and characters of a Chriſtian in holy Scriptures, me thinks it ſhould be almoſt a ſin for ſuch a one to name it. *Poſſeſs your ſouls in patience: by this ſhall men know, that ye are my Diſciples if ye love one another: peace I leave with you. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace in the Holy Ghoſt. Let your ſoftneſs be known to all men: the wiſdome that is from above is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be entreated, full of mercy.* It is reported by *Avenzoar* a great Phyſician, that he was ſo tender hearted, that he could not endure to ſee a man let blood: he that ſhould read theſe paſſages of Scripture, might think that Chriſtians were like *Avenzoar*, that the *ſight* of blood ſhould be enough to affright them. But is the *Common Chriſtian* ſo *ſoft?*

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So tender hearted, is he ſo peaceable, ſo tame and tractable a creature? You ſhall not finde two things of more different countenance and complexion, then that Chriſtianity which is commended unto us in the writings of the Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts, and that which is current in uſe and practice of the times. He that ſhall behold the true face of a Chriſtian, as it is deciphered and painted out unto us in the books of the New Teſtament, and unpartially compare it with that copie or counterfeit of it, which is expreſt in the life and demeanor of common Chriſtians, would think them no more like then thoſe *ſhields of Gold*, which *Solomon* made, were unto *thoſe of braſs*, which *Reboboam* made in their ſteed: and might ſuppoſe that the writers of thoſe books had brought *vota magis, quam præcepta* had rather fancied to themſelves ſome admirable pattern of a Chriſtian, ſuch as they could *wiſh*, then delivered rules and laws, which ſeriouſly and indeed ought or could be practiſed in common life and converſation. St. *James* obſerves, that *he which beholds his natural face in a glaſs, goes his way, and immediately forgets what manner of man he was.* Beloved how careful we are to look upon the glaſs, the books of holy Scriptures, I cannot eaſily pronounce. But this I am ſure of, we *go our ways* and quickly *forget* what manner of ſhape we ſaw there. As *Jacob* and *Eſau* had both one father, *Iſaac*; both one mother *Rebecca*, yet the one was ſmooth and plain, the other rough and hairy, of harſh and hard countenance, & condition: ſo theſe two kindes of Chriſtians of which but now I ſpake, though both lay claim to one father and mother, both call themſelves the ſons of God and the ſons of the Church, yet are they almoſt as *unlike* as *Jacob* and *Eſau*; the one ſmooth, gentle, and peaceable, the other rough and harſh. The notes and characters of Chriſtians, as they are deſcribed in holy Scriptures are *patience* eaſily putting up and digeſting of wrongs, *humility*, preferring all before our ſelves: And St. *James* tells us, that *the wiſdom that is from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be entreated.* St. *James* indeed hath given the firſt place unto purity, and it were almoſt a ſin to compare Chriſtian vertues together, and make them ſtrive for precedency, and place. For what *Solomon* ſaith upon

another occasion, is here much more true: *Say not why is this thing better then that: for every thing in its time is seasonable.* Yet he that shall mark how every where the Scriptures commend unto us gentleness and *meekness*, and that peace is it *quam mihi Apostoli tecis viribus spiritus sancti commendant*, as *Tertullian* speaks, which the Apostles endeavour with all the strength and force of the Holy Ghost to plant amongst us, might a little invert the words of St. *James*, and read them thus. *The wisdome that is from above, is first peaceable, then pure.* The son of God, who is the wisdome of the Father, and who for us men came down from Heaven, first, and before all other vertues commended this unto the world. For when he was born, the song of the Angels was *peace upon earth, and goodwill towards men.* All his doctrine was *peace*, his whole life was *peaceable*, and no man *heard his voice in the streets.* His last legacie and bequest left unto his disciples was the same. *Peace*, saith he, *I leave unto you, my peace I give unto you:* As Christ, so Christians. In the building of *Solomons Temple*, there was no noise of any hammer, of any instrument of Iron: so in the spiritual building and frame of a Christian, there is no sound of Iron, no noise of any weapons, nothing but peace and gentleness. *Ex præcepto, fidei non minus rea ira est sine ratione suscepta, quam in operibus legis homicidium*, saith St. *Austin*, unadvised anger by the law of *faith*, is as a great sin, as murther was by the law of *Moses*. As some *Physicians* have thought, that in mans body *the spleen* hath very little use, and might well be spared, and therefore in dealing with sundry diseased persons, they endeavour by physick to abate, and take away that part in them, as much as may be; so if we look into a Christian man, as he is proposed to us in the Gospel, we may justly marvel to what purpose God hath planted in him this faculty and passion of anger; since he hath so little use of it: and the Gospel in a manner doth spiritually diet, and physick him for it, and endeavours much to abate, if not quite to purge out that quality. Beloved we have hitherto seen who *Jacob* is, and what manner of man the Christian is, that is described unto us in holy Scripture. Let us a little consider his Brother *Esau*, the *Christian* in passage, and who commonly in

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the account of the world goes for one. Is he ſo gentle and tractable a creature? Is his countenance ſo ſmooth, his body ſo free from gall and ſpleen? To trie this, as the *Devil ſometimes ſpake unto Job, Touch him in his goods, touch him in his body, and ſee if he will not curſe thee to thy face:* ſo touch this man a little in his goods, touch him in his reputation and honour; touch him in any thing that he loves, (for this is the only way to trie how far, theſe commands of peace, and forbearance, and long ſuffering prevail with us,) and ſee if he will not forget and looſe all his patience. Which of us is there that underſtands the words and precepts of our Saviour in their literal ſenſe, and as they lie? The precepts of ſuffering wrong, rather then to go to law; of yielding the coat to him that would take the cloak, of readineſs to receive more wrongs, then to revenge one: theſe and all the Evangelical commands of the like nature *Interpretamento detorquemus.* We have found out favourable interpretations, and gloſſes, reſtrictions, and evaſions, to winde our ſelves out of them, to ſhift them all off, and put them by, and yet paſs for ſound and currant Chriſtians: we think we may be juſtly angry, continue long ſuits in law, call to the Magiſtrate for revenge, yea ſometimes take it into our own hands, all this and much more we think we may lawfully, and with good reaſon do, any precept of Chriſt to the contrary notwithſtanding. And as it uſually comes to paſs, the permitting and tolerating leſſer ſins, opens way to greater, ſo by giving paſſage, and inlet to thoſe leſſer impatiences and diſcontents, we lay open a gap to thoſe fouler crimes, even of murther and bloodſhed. For as men commonly ſuppoſe that all the former breaches of our patience, which but now I mentioned, may well enough ſtand with the duties of Chriſtians: ſo there are who ſtay not here, but think, that in ſome caſes it may be lawful, yea, peradventure neceſſary, at leaſt very pardonable for Chriſtians privately to ſeek each others blood, and put their lives upon their ſwords, without any wrong to their vocation; out of this have ſprung many great inconveniences, both private and publick. Firſt, *Laws* made too favourable in caſe of blood-ſhed. Secondly, a too much *facility* and eaſineſs in Princes and Magiſtrates,

ſtrates, ſometimes to give pardon, and releaſe for that crime. Thirdly and chiefly (for it is the ſpecial cauſe indeed that moved me to ſpeak in this Argument) an *over promptneſs* in many *young-men*, who deſire to be counted men of valour and reſolution, upon every ſleight occaſion, to raiſe a quarrel and admit of no other meanes of compoſing, and ending them but by ſword and *ſingle combat*. Partly therefore to ſhew the grievouſneſs & greatneſs of this ſin of bloodſhed, and partly to give the beſt counſel I can for the reſtraint of thoſe conceits and errors which give way unto it, I have made choice of theſe few words out of the Old Teſtament which but now I read. In the New Teſtament there is no precept given concerning bloodſhed. The Apoſtles ſeem not to have thought, that Chriſtians ever ſhould have had need of ſuch a prohibition. For what needed to forbid thoſe to ſeek each others blood, who are not permitted to ſpeak over haſtily, one to another, when therefore I had reſolved with my ſelf to ſpeak ſomething concerning the ſin of bloodſhed, I was in a manner conſtrain'd to reflect upon the Old Teſtament, and make choice of thoſe words. *And the Land cannot be purged of blood that is ſhed in it, but by the blood of him that ſhed it.*

In which words for my more orderly proceeding, I will obſerve theſe two general parts: *Firſt*, the greatneſs of the ſin. *Secondly*, the means to cleanſe and ſatisfie for the guilt of it. The firſt, that is the greatneſs of the ſin, is expreſſed by two circumſtances. Firſt, by the generality, extent, and largneſs of the guilt of it: and ſecondly, by the difficulty of cleanſing it. The largneſs and compaſs of the guilt of this ſin, is noted out unto us in the word *Land* and the *Land cannot be purged*. It is true in ſome ſenſe of all ſins. *Nemo ſibi uni errat*, no man ſins in private, and to himſelf alone; For as the Scripture notes of that action of *Jepthte*, when he vowed his daughter unto God, *That it became a Cuſtome in Iſrael*: ſo is it in all ſins. The error is only in one perſon, but the example ſpreads far & wide, and thus every man that ſins, ſins againſt the whole *Land*, yea againſt the whole world. For who can tell how far the example and infection of an evil action doth ſpread? In other ſins the infection is no larger then the diſeaſe: but this ſin like a plague: one brings the infection;

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ὀλέκουσι δὲ λαοὶ, but thousands die for it, yet this sin of bloud diffuses and spreads it self above all other sins. For in other sins *noxa sequitur caput.* The guilt of them is confined to the person that committed them. God himself hath pronounced of them. *The Son shalt not bear the sins of the Father, the soul that sinneth shall die the death.* But the sin of blood seems to claim an exception from this Law. If by time it be not purged, like the *frogs* of *Egypt*, the *whole land stank of them.* It leaves a guilt upon the whole land in which it is committed. Other sins come in like rivers, and break their banks to the prejudice and wrong of private persons: but this comes in like a Sea, raging and threatning to overwhelm whole countreys. If blood in any land do lie unrevenged, every particular soul hath cause to fear, least part of the penalty fall on him. We read in the books of Kings that long after *Sauls* death God plagued the Land of *Jewry* with three years famine: becaus *Saul* in his life time had without any just cause shed the blood of some of the *Gibeonites*: neither the famine ceased, till seaven of *Sauls* Nephews had died for it. In this story there are many things rare and worth our observation. First, the Generality and extent of the guilt of Blood-shed which is the cause for which I urged it) it drew a general famine on the whole Land. Secondly, the continuance and length of the punishment. It lasted full three years, and better. Thirdly, the time of the plague; it fell long after the person offending was dead. Fourthly, whereas it is said in my Text. *That blood is cleansed by the blood of him that shed it*: here the blood of him that did this sin, sufficed not to purge the Land from it. That desperate and woful end, that befel both *Saul* and his Sons in that last and fatal battel upon Mount-*Gilboah*, a man might think had freed the Land from danger of blood: yet we see that the blood of the *Gibeonites*, had left so deep a stain, that it could not be sponged out without the blood of seven more of *Sauls* offspring. So that in some cases it seems we must alter the words of my Text: *The Land cannot be purged of blood, but by the blood of him, and his posterity that shed it.* Saint *Peter* tells us that *some mens sins go before them unto judgement, and some mens sins follow after.* Beloved here is a sin that *exceedes the members* of this division, for how-

howſoever it goes *before*, or *after* us unto Judgement: Yet it hath a kinde of *Ubiquity*, and ſo runs afore, ſo follows us at the heels, that it ſtays behinde us too, and calls for vengeance long after that we are gone. Blood unrevenged paſſes from Father to Son like an Heirlome or legacy: and he that dies with blood hanging on his fingers, leaves his Off-ſpring and his Family as pledges to anſwer it in his ſtead. As an Engineer that works in a Mine, lays a train, or kindles a Match, and leaves it behinde him, which ſhall take hold of the powder long after he is gone, ſo he that ſheds blood, if it be not betimes purged, as it were kindles a Match able to blow up not only a Parliament, but even a whole Land where blood lies unrevenged.

Secondly, another circumſtance ſerving to expreſs unto us the greatneſs of this ſin; I told you was the difficulty of cleanſing it; intimated in thoſe words, *cannot be cleanſed but by the blood of him that ſhed it.* Moſt of other ſins have ſundry ways to waſh the guilt away. As in the *Levitical Law*, the woman that was unclean by reaſon of *Childe-bearing*, might offer a pair of *Turtle-doves*, or two young *Pigeons*: ſo he that travels with other ſins, hath either a *Turtle* or a *Pigeon*, he hath more ways then one to purifie him: prayer unto God, or true repentance, or ſatisfaction to the party wronged, or bodily affliction, or temporary mulct. But, he that travels with the ſin of Blood, for him there remains no ſacrifice for ſin, but a fearful expectation of vengeance, he hath but one way of cleanſing, onely his blood, the *blood of him that ſhed it.*

The ſecond general part which we conſidered in theſe words, was, that one mean which is left to cleanſe blood expreſt in the laſt words, *the blood of him that ſhed it.* The Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſpeaking of the ſacrifices of the Old Teſtament, notes that without blood, there was no cleanſing no forgiveneſs. He ſpake it only of the blood of beaſts of Bulls and Goats, who therefore have their blood that they might ſhed it in mans ſervice, and for mans uſe. But among all the Levitical Sacrifices there was not one to cleanſe the man-ſlayer: For the blood of the cattle upon a *thouſand Hills* was not ſufficient for this, yet was that ſin to be purged with blood too, and that by a more conſtant and perpe-

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tual Law, then that of Sacrifices. For the cleanſing of other ſins by blood is done away; the date of it is out; but to cleanſe blood by blood remains as a Law to our times, and ſo ſhall unto the worlds end, *ſanguine quærendi reditus*, out of blood no way to get but by blood, φονεύσας; μαρτύρησον: ſaith S. *Baſil*, haſt thou ſhed blood? wouldſt thou be free from the guilt of it. Thy beſt way is to be a Martyr, and ſhed thy blood for Chriſts ſake. Now that what I have to ſay may the better be conceived and lodged up in your memories, I will comprehend and order all that I will ſpeak to under three heads. Firſt I will in General yet a little further, briefly ſhew how great a ſin the ſin of blood is. Secondly I will ſpeak of the redreſs of ſome miſorders very frequent in our age which give way to this ſin, eſpecially private revenge and ſingle combat. Thirdly I will touch at the means of taking the guilt of blood away, which here the holy Ghoſt commends to thoſe which are ſet in authority to that purpoſe. And firſt of the greatneſs of the crime and ſin of blood.

Of ſins in holy Scripture there be two ſorts recorded. One ſort is a ſilent, dumb and quiet ſin. God doth as it were ſeek after it to finde it, as the people did after *Saul*, when he was hidden amongſt the ſtuff. Of this nature are the ordinary ſins of our life, which do more eaſily finde pardon at the hands of God; but there is a ſecond ſort of ſin, which is a vocal and a crying ſin, a ſin like that *importunate widow* in the Goſpel, that will not ſuffer the Judge to be quiet, till he hath done juſtice: and thoſe are the more heavy and grievouſer ſins of our lives. Of this ſecond ſort, there are two ſins, to which the Scripture doth attribute this crying faculty. Firſt the ſin of *Sodom*; For ſo God tells *Abraham*, *The cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is come up before me.* The ſecond is the ſin of which I am now to ſpeak, the ſin of Blood-ſhed. For ſo God tells *Cain*. The *voice of thy brothers blood cryes unto me from the earth*, The ſin of *Adam* in Paradiſe doubtleſs was a great and hainous ſin, which hath thus made us all the *children of death*, yet it ſeems to be but of the rank of *mute ſins*, and to have had no *voyce* to betray it, God comes unto *Adam*, convents him, examines him as if he had not known it, and ſeems not to

believe any such thing was done, till himself had confessed it. But blood is an unmannerly, importunate, and clamorous sin, God shall not need to come and enquire after it, it will come up unto him, and cry as the souls do under the altar in the Revelation. *How long Lord, how long? Nec patimur—iracunda Deum ponere fulmina*, suffers not God to forget judgement, or entertain a thought of mercy. To satisfie therefore the cry of this importunate sin, and to shew men the grievousness of it, the Laws of God and men have wonderfully conspired in the avenging of blood; by what means, or by what creature soever it were shed. Beasts, unreasonable creatures, though whatsoever they do, they cannot be said to sin: for whatsoever they do, they do by force of that natural instinct, by which they are guided, and led as by their proper law: yet mans blood if they shed it, is revenged upon them. God himself is the Author of this law, (*Gen.* 9.) where he tells *Noah*; *The blood of your lives I will require, at the hands of every beast will I require it.* And accordingly in the 21. of *Exodus*, he precisely enacts a law. *De Bove petulco, If an Oxe gore a man that he die, the Oxe shall be slain, and the flesh cast away as an abomination.* The laws of Natural men, who had no knowledge of God, come little behinde this; yea, they may seem to have gone before it in severe revenging of blood: for amongst the laws, by which *Athens* that famous city of *Greece* was governed, there was one, that if a *Wall* by chance had fallen down, and slain a man as the tower of *Siloam* did, of which we read in the Gospel; that then the Judges should sit, and formally arraign that wall, condemn it, and throw the stones of it out of the Countrey. This so formal proceeding against unreasonable, against dull and senseless creatures, hath been thus joyntly both by God and man practised only for our example, to teach us how precious the life of man ought to be in our eyes: and it resembles that action of Christ in the Gospel, where for our instruction he curses the barren fig tree: *Sterilitas nostra in ficu vapulat*, &c.

Now as exemplary justice is severely done on these creatures for mans instruction: so much more if man himself kept not his hands clean from blood, did the laws of God proceed with much

much ſtrictneſs and ſeverity: for to ſay nothing of groſs, malicious, and wilful murther; if a man only in *his haſte* ſtrook another with a weapon, or with a ſtone, ſo that he died, though the ſtriker intended but to hurt, yet he was to die for it. That he did it in anger, that he did it in his drink, that he did it provok't, that he did it in defence of his honour, and reputation: none of all theſe pretenſes might excuſe him. Nay, which is yet more, God himſelf propounds the caſe; *If* ſaith he, *a man cleaving wood his axe head flie off, and hit his neighbour, ſo that he kills him*, except he could recover one of the Cities of Refuge, he was to die: and having recovered a city of refuge, if before the death of the high Prieſt, he were taken without the walls of the city, he was to die. So ſtrickt was God in the caſe of chance-medly, (as they call it,) in a caſe which he takes unto himſelf, and makes himſelf the Author of. For in the 21. of *Exodus*, ſpeaking of the man that thus ſheds blood by chance and unwittingly, his words are theſe; If a man lie not in wait *ſed Deus objecerit manui ejus*, but God put him into his hands, I will appoint him a city of refuge to flie unto. In which words God acknowledges, that he who thus dies by chance, dies by his providence, and not by the ſin of him that ſlue him. If God (ſaith he) ſhall put him into his hands; yet you ſee, what a penalty he layes upon the innocent inſtrument of ſuch blood ſhed. The blood that is ſhed in battle, and in times of lawful war you all ſuppoſe as lawfully ſhed. Yet notwithſtanding *Moſes* in the 16. of *Numbers*, gives charge, that the ſouldiers returning from battel, ſhould ſtay a while without the Camp, even *ſeven days*, until they were *cleanſed*. Again, when *David* adviſed with himſelf about the building of an houſe unto God, he ſends him word to lay by all thought of that: he was no fit perſon to do it; and he gives the reaſon of it. *Quia vir bellorum & ſanguinum es tu.* For thou art a man haſt ſhed much blood, and fought many battels. Beloved the battels which *David* fought were called the Lords battels, and therefore whatſoever he did in that kinde, he had doubtleſs very good warrant to do: and yet you ſee, that it is an imputation to him, that he ſhed blood, though lawfully, *ut fundi ſanguis ne juſte quidem, ſine aliquâ injuſtitiâ poſ-*

fit; ſo that it ſeems blood cannot be ſo juſtly ſhed, but that it brings with it ſome ſtain and ſpot of injuſtice.

All this have I ſaid to raiſe up in you as much as poſſibly I can, a right conceit of the height and hainouſneſs of this ſin, and further, yet to effect this in you, as in the beginning and entrance into my diſcourſe, I briefly toucht at two reaſons, ſhewing the greatneſs of this ſin, occaſion'd therunto by the words of my text: ſo will I as briefly touch at the two more tending to the ſame purpoſe; one drawn from reſpect of the wrong, which by this ſin is done unto God; another from the wrong done to our ſelves. And firſt, what wrong is done unto God, God himſelf ſhews us in the 9. of *Geneſis*: where giving this for an everlaſting law. He that ſheddeth mans blood, by man let his blood be ſhed; he preſently addes the reaſon of it. *For in the image of God made he man*: we ſhall the better underſtand the force of this reaſon, if we a little look into civil actions. It is the uſual manner of ſubjects, when they rebel againſt the Prince, to think they cannot more effectually expreſs their hate; then by diſgracing, breaking, throwing down the ſtatues and *images* erected to his honor. The citizens of *Antioch* in a ſedition againſt *Theodoſius* the Emperor, in one night diſgracefully threw down all his ſtatues, which fact of theirs caus'd S. *Chryſoſtom* at that time preacher to that city, to make thoſe famous Sermons, which from that action to this day are called his ἀνδριάντες his ſtatues. This by ſo much the more is counted a great offence, becauſe next unto wronging and diſgracing the very perſon of the Prince, a greater inſolence cannot be offered. For it expreſſeth with what welcome they would entertain him, if they had him in their power. Beloved man is the image of his maker erected by him as a *Statue* of his honour. He then that ſhall deſpiteſully handle, batter and deface it, how can he be counted otherwiſe then guilty of higheſt Treaſon againſt his Maker. *Rebellion*, ſaith *Samuel* to *Saul*, *is like the ſin of ſuperſtition and Idolatry*. The ſin of blood therefore equals the ſin Idolatry, ſince there cannot be a greater ſin of Rebellion againſt God, then to deface his image. Idolatry through ignorance ſets up a falſe image of God, but this ſin through malice defaces, pulls down the true. Amongſt the heathen,

heathen, ſometimes the ſtatues of the Emperours were had in ſuch reſpect, that they were accounted ſanctuaries, and ſuch as for offence fled unto them, it was not lawful to touch. Beloved, ſuch honour ought we to give unto a man, that if he have offended us, yet the image of God which ſhines in him ought to be as a ſanctuary unto him, to ſave him from our violence, an admonitioner unto us, that we ought not to touch him. A ſecond reaſon, yet further ſhewing the hainouſneſs of this ſin, is drawn from the wrong which is done to our ſelves. All other wrongs whatſoever they be admit of ſome recompence. Honors, wealth, preferments, if they be taken from us, they may return as they did unto *Job* in far greater meaſure, and the party wronged may receive full and ample ſatisfaction; but what recompence may be made to a man for his life? When that is gone, all the Kingdomes which our Saviour ſaw in the Mount, and the glory of them, are nothing worth, neither is all the world, all the power of men and Angels able to give the leaſt breath to him that hath loſt it. Nothing under God is able to make ſatisfaction for ſuch a wrong: the revenge that is taken afterward upon the party that hath done the wrong, cannot be counted a recompence. That is done *In terrorem viventium, non in ſubſidium mortuorum.* It ſerves to deter the living from committing the like outrage, but it can no way help him that is dead: *David* at the ſame time committed two ſins, great ſins, *Murther* and *Adultery*; the reward of either of which by Gods law, is nothing elſe but death. Yet for his *Adultery* he ſeems to make ſome ſatisfaction to the party wronged; for the text notes that *David* took her to his wife, made her his Queen, and that he went in unto her, comforted her: all which may well be counted at leaſt a part of recompence. But for dead *Vrias* what means could *David* make to recompence, to comfort him. For this cauſe I verily ſuppoſe it is, that in his penitential Pſalm, wherein he bewails his ſin, he makes no particular confeſſion, no mention of his Adultery: but of the other, of blood, he is very ſenſible, and expreſly prayes againſt it. *Deliver me from blood guiltineſs, O God, thou God of my ſalvation*; as if Adultery in compariſon of murder were no crime at all.

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I am ſorry I ſhould have any juſt occaſion amongſt Chriſtian men, ſo long to inſiſt upon a thing ſo plain; and ſhew that the ſin of blood is a great and hainous ſin. But he that ſhall look into the neceſſities of theſe times, ſhall quickly ſee that there is a great cauſe, why this doctrine ſhould be very effectually preſt. For many things are even publickly done, which in part argue that men eſteem of this ſin much more ſleightly then they ought. *Ariſtotle* obſerved it of *Phaleas*, (one that took upon him, to preſcribe laws, by which a common wealth might as he thought, well be governed,) that he had taken order for the preventing of ſmaller faults, but he left way enough open to greater crimes. Beloved, the error of our laws is not ſo great as that of *Phaleas* was, yet we offend too, though on the contrary, and the leſs dangerous ſide; for great and grievous ſins are by them providently curbed, but many inferiour crimes finde many times too free paſſage. Murther, though all be abominable, yet there are degrees in it, ſome is more hainous then other. Groſs, malicious, premeditated and wilful murther, are by our laws, ſo far as humane wiſdome can provide, ſufficiently prevented: but murders done in haſte, or beſides the *intent* of him that did it, or in point of *honour*, and reputation, theſe finde a little too much favour; or laws in this reſpect are ſomewhat defective, both in preventing that it be not done, and puniſhing it when it is done; men have thought themſelves wiſer then God, preſumed to moderate the unneceſſary ſeverity (as they ſeem to think) of his laws. And hence it comes to paſs, that in military companies, and in all great cities and places of *Mart* and concourſe few moneths, yea, few weeks paſs without ſome inſtance and example of blood-ſhed, either by ſuddain quarrel, or by challenge to *Duel* and ſingle combate. How many examples in a ſhort ſpace have we ſeen of young men, men of hot and fiery diſpoſition, mutually provoking and diſgracing each other, and then taking themſelves bound in high terms of valour, and honour, to end their quarrels by their ſwords? That therefore we may the better diſcover, the unlawfulneſs of challenge and private combate; let us a little enquire and examine in what caſes blood may lawfully, and without offence be ſhed;

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that ſo we may ſee where, amongſt theſe, *ſingle combate* may finde its place.

The *Manichees* were of opinion that it was not lawful to violate any thing in which there was life, and therefore they would not pull a branch from a tree, becauſe foreſooth there was life in it. To think that mans life may be in no caſe taken from him, is but a *branch of Manichiſme*: and the words of my text do directly croſs it, where it is laid down, that for the *cleanſing of blood, blood may and muſt be ſhed.* For the avoiding therefore of the extream, we are to note that the lawful cauſes of bloodſhed are either publick or private, pnblick caſes are two: Firſt in caſe of Juſtice, when a malefactor dies for his ſin by the hand of the Magiſtrate. Secondly in caſe of publick war and defence of our Countrey, for the Doctrine of Chriſt is not (as ſome have ſuppoſed) an enemy to Souldierſhip, and Military Diſcipline. When *John* the Baptiſt began to Preach Repentance, and amendment of Life; amongſt thoſe that came forth to underſtand and learn their duty, the Text ſaith that the Souldiers came and ask't *him Maſter what ſhall we do.* And *John* wills them not to lay down their weapons; or to take another courſe of life (which he ought and would have done, if that courſe had been unlawful) but he inſtructs them rather in their calling. For he gives them theſe two Leſſons, *Do no man wrong, And be content with your pay, your wages.* Then which there could not have been better, or more pertinent counſel given to Souldiers, they being the two principal vices of Souldiers to wrong places where they live by forrage, and pillage and to mutiny in diſlike of their pay. When Saint *Peter* came to Preach to the *Centurion* in the Acts we finde not a ſyllable in all that Sermon prejudicial to a Souldiers profeſſion. And therefore accordingly in the times of the Primitive Church Chriſtians ſerved even under Heathen Emperours, and that with the approbation of God himſelf.

For in the Eccleſiaſtick ſtory we read of the *Legio Fulminatrix* of a band of Souldiers called the *Thundring Band.* Becauſe that at what time *Marcus* the Emperour lying with his Army in *Germania* was afflicted with a great drought, and in great danger of the enemy, when they were now about to joyn battel, the Chriſtian

ſtian Souldiers, (that Band) fell flat on their faces, and by their inſtant prayers obtained of God a great Tempeſt which to the Emperour and his army, brought ſtore of cold refreſhing water, but upon the enemy nothing elſe but fire and whirl-wind. The Emperors Epiſtle in which this ſtory is related, is this day extant, recovered by *Juſtin Martyr*, who lived about the time the thing was done: wherefore we may not doubt of the lawfulneſs of that profeſſion, which it hath pleaſed God thus to grace, and honour with ſuch a miracle. Beſides theſe two there are no other publick cauſes of blood-ſhed. As for the cauſes in private, I know but one, and that is when a man is ſet upon and forced to it, in his own defence. If a thief be robbing in the *night*, and be ſlain, the Law of God acquits him that did it: and by the Roman Laws, *Nocturnum furem quomodo libet, diurnum ſi ſe telo defenderit*, it was lawful to kill a thief by night at any hand, and by day if he uſed his weapon, of private blood-ſhed there is no cauſe but this & this we muſt needs allow of. For in all other private neceſſities into which we may be driven, the Law and Magiſtrate have place to whom we muſt repair for remedy: but in caſe of defence of life againſt ſudden on ſet, no law can be made except we would make a Law to yield our throats to him that would cut them, or our Laws were like the *Prophet* that came to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel*, and could dry up mens arms that offered violence, wherefore all cauſe of death, one onely excepted, is publick and that for great reaſon. For to die is not a private action to be undertaken at our own, or at any other private mans pleaſure, and diſcretion. For as we are not born unto our ſelves alone, but for the ſervice of God and the common-wealth in which we live: ſo no man dies to himſelf alone but with the damage and loſs of that Church or common-wealth of which he is a member. Wherefore it is not left to any private mans power to diſpoſe of any mans life, no not to our own, only God and the Magiſtrate may diſpoſe of this. As Souldiers in the camp muſt keep their ſtanding, neither may they move or alter, but by direction from the captain: ſo is it with us all. Our life is a warfare and every man in the world hath his ſtation, and place from whence he may not move at his own, or at another mans pleaſure, but only

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at the direction and appointment of God, his General, or of the Magiſtrates, which are as Captains & Lievtenants under him. Then our lawful times of death are either when our day is come, or to fall in battel, or for miſdemeanor to be cut off by the publick hand of Juſtice, *Ut qui vivi prodeſſe noluerunt, eorum morte reſpub. utatur.* He which otherwiſe dies, comes by ſurreption and ſtealth, and not warrantably unto his end.

And though we have ſpoken ſomething in Apology and defence of War, yet you may not think, that in time of War your hands are looſe, and that you may at your pleaſure ſhed the blood of your enemy. *Miſericorditer etiam bella gerantur*, ſaith S. *Auſtine*, even in war and battel there is room for thoughts of peace and mercy and therefore many of the ancient *Heroes* renowned Souldiers and Captains were very conſcientious of ſhedding the blood of their enemies, except it were in battel, and when therewas no remedy to avoid it. In that mortal battel, *Sam.* 2. between the Servants of *David* and the ſervants of *Iſboſheth*; the Scripture reports that *Abner* fled, And *Azael Joabs* brother following him hard at heels to kill him, *Abner* adviſes him twiſe, *Turn aſide*, ſaith he, *why ſhould I ſmite thee to the ground.* But when *Azahel* would not hearken but followed him ſtill for his blood, then he ſtroke him with his ſpear, that he died. In the time of War when he might lawfully have done it, in the fury of the battel *Abner* would not ſhed blood, but by conſtraint. *Xenophon* would make us believe that the Souldiers in *Cyrus* his army were ſo well diſciplin'd, that one of them in time of the battel, having lift up his arm to ſtrike his enemy, hearing the Trumpet begin to ſound the retreat, let fall his arm and willingly loſt his blow becauſe he thought the time of ſtriking was now paſt: So far were theſe men from thinking it lawful to ſhed the blood of a Subject in the time of peace, that they would not ſhed the blood of an enemy in time of war except it were in the field. *J. Ceſar* was one of the greateſt, & ſtouteſt Captains that ever was in the World, he ſtood the ſhock of fifty ſet battels, beſides all ſieges and outroads, he took a thouſand Cities and walled Towns; he overrun three hundred ſeverall countreyes, and in his wars were ſlain well near twelve hundred thouſand men, be-

ſides all thoſe that died in the civil wars, which were great numbers, yet this man proteſted of himſelf, and that moſt truly that he never drew blood but in the field, *nunquam niſi in acie ſtantem* never ſlew any man, but in a ſet battel; I have been a little the bolder in bringing theſe inſtances of heathen men. Firſt, becauſe the Doctrine of Chriſt, through error is counted an enemy to policie of War and Martial Diſcipline. Secondly, becauſe we have found out many diſtinctions, and evaſions to elude the precepts of our Bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles. For as it hath been obſerved of the God-makers, I mean the *Painters* and *Statuaries* among the heathen, they were wont many times to paint their Goddeſſes like their miſtreſſes, and then think them moſt fair, when they were moſt like what they beſt loved: ſo is it with many profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion they can temper the precepts of it to their liking, and lay upon them gloſſes and interpretations as it were colours, and make it look like what they love. Thirdly, becauſe it is likely that the examples of theſe men will moſt prevail with thoſe to whom I ſpeak as being ſuch to whom above all they affect to be moſt like. Except therefore it be their purpoſe to hear no other Judgement but only their own unruly and miſorderly affections; it cannot but move them to ſee the examples of men guided only by the light of reaſon, of men I ſay the moſt famous in all the world for valour and reſolution to run ſo mainly againſt them. To come then unto the queſtion of *Duels*; both by the light of reaſon, and by the practice of men it doth appear, that there is no caſe, wherein ſubjects may privatly ſeek each others lives. There are extant the Laws of the *Jews* framed by God himſelf. The Laws of the *Roman* Empire made partly by the *Ethnick*, partly by *Chriſtian* Princes; A great part of the Laws of *Sparta*, and *Athens* (two warlike Common-Wealths eſpecially the former) lie diſperſed in our books: yet amongſt them all is there not a Law or Cuſtome that permits this liberty to Subjects. The reaſon of it I conceive, is very plain. The principal thing next under God by which a Common-Wealth doth ſtand is the Authority of the Magiſtrate whoſe proper end is to compoſe, and end quarrels between man and man upon what occaſion ſoever they grow; For were men peaceable,

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were men not injurious one to another, there were no use of Government. Wherefore to permit men in private to try their own rights, or to avenge their own wrongs, and so to decline the sentence of the Magistrate is quite, to cut off all use of Authority. Indeed it hath been sometimes seen that the event of a battel by consent of both armies, hath been put upon single combat, to avoid further effusion of blood: but combats betwixt Subjects for private causes till these later ages of the world was never allowed. Yet I must confess the practice of it is very Ancient. For *Cain* the second man in the world was the *first Dueliſt*, the first that ever challenged the field (in the fourth of *Geneſis*) the Text saith, That *Cain* spake unto his Brother, and when they were in the field he arose and slew him. The *Septuagint*, to make the sense more plain do adde another clause, and tell us what it was he said unto his Brother, διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, Let us go out *into the field*, and when they were in the field, he arose and slew him. *Let us go out into the field*, it is the very form and proper language of a challenge. Many times indeed our Gallants can formalize in other words, but evermore the substance, and usually the very words are no other but these of *Cains*, *Let us go out into the field*. *Abel* I perswade my self understood them not as a challenge: for had he so done, he would have made so much use of his discretion, as to have refused it, yet can we not chuse but acknowledge a secret Judgement of God in this that the words of *Cain*, should still be so Religiously kept till this day as a Proem and Introduction to that action, which doubtless is no other, then what *Cains* was. When therefore our Gallants are so ready to challenge the field, and to go into the field, Let them but remember whose words they use, and so accordingly think of their action. Again, notwithstanding, Duels are of so ancient and worshipful a Parentage, yet could they never gain so good acceptance as to be permitted, much less to be counted lawful in the civil part of the world till barbarisme had overran it. About five or six hundred years after Christ at the fall of the Roman Empire aboundance of rude and barbarous people brake in and possest the civiler part of the world; who abolishing the ancient Laws of the Empire, set up many strange

cuſtoms in their rooms. Amongſt the reſt for the determining of quarrels that might ariſe in caſe of doubtful title, or of falſe acculation or the like, they put themſelves upon many unuſual forms of Tryal; as to *handle red hot Iron*, to walk *bare foot on burning coals*, to put their hands and feet in *ſcalding water*, and many other of the like nature, which are reckoned up by *Hottoman* a French Lawyer: For they preſumed ſo far on Gods providence, that if the party accuſed were innocent, he might do any of theſe without any ſmart, or harm. In the ſame caſes, when by reaſon of unſufficient, and doubtful evidence, the Judges could not proceed to ſentence, as ſomtimes it falls out and the parties contending would admit of no reaſonable compoſition, Their manner was to permit them to trie it out by their ſwords. That ſo the Conqueror might be thought to be in the right. They permitted, *Iſay*, thus to do. For at the beſt 'twas but a permiſſion to prevent farther miſchief; For to this end ſometimes ſome known abuſes are tolerated: So God permitted the Jews upon ſleight occaſions to put their wives away, Becauſe he ſaw that otherwiſe, their exorbitant luſts would not be bounded within theſe limits, which he in Paradiſe in the beginning had ſet.

And it is obſerved of the wiſe men which had the managing and bringing up of *Nero* the Emperor, that they ſuffered him to practice his luſts upon *Acte* one of his Mothers Chamber-maids, *Ne in ſtupra fœminarum illuſtrium perrumperet ſi illâ libidine prohiberetur.* Leaſt if he were forbidden that, he ſhould turn his luſt upon ſome of the Noble Women, permiſſion and toleration warrants not the goodneſs of any action. But as *Caiphas* ſaid better one man die then all the people periſh; ſo they that firſt permitted *Duels* ſeem to have thought: better one or two mutinous perſons, and diſorderly die in their folly, then the whole Common-Wealth be put into tumult and combuſtion: yet even by theſe men it was never ſo promiſcuouſly tolerated that every haſty couple, upon the venting of a little choler, ſhould preſently draw their ſwords, but it was a publick or ſolemn action, done by order, with inſpection, either of the Prince himſelf, or of ſome other Magiſtrate, appointed to order it. Now certainly there can be no very great reaſon for that action, which was thus

begun

begun by Cain, and *continued only by Goths and Vandals* and meer *Barbariſme*.

Yet that we may a little better acquaint our ſelves with the quality of it, Let us a little examine the cauſes and pretences which are brought by them who call for trial by ſingle combat. The cauſes are uſually two. Firſt, diſdain to ſeem to do or ſuffer any thing for *fear of death*. Secondly, *point of Honour*, and not to ſuffer any contumely, and indignity, eſpecially if it bring with it diſreputation, and note of cowardiſe. For the firſt diſdain to fear death. I muſt confeſs I have often wondered with my ſelf, how men durſt die ſo ventrouſly except they were ſure they died well. *In aliis rebus ſiquid erratum eſt poteſt poſt modum corrigi*, in other things which are learnt by practiſing, if we miſtak we may amend it: for the errour of a former Action may be corrected in the next. We learn then by erring, and men come at length not to erre, by having often erred. But no man learns to die by practiſing it. We die but once, and a fault committed then, can never afterward be amended, *quia pœna ſtatim ſequitur errorem*, becauſe the puniſhment immediately follows upon the errour. To die is an action of that moment, that we ought to be very well adviſed, when we come to it, *ab hoc momento pendet æternitas*, you may not look back upon the opinion of honour and reputation which remains behinde you: but rather look forward upon that infinite ſpace of Eternity either of bliſs or bale which befalls us immediately after our laſt breath. To be loath to die upon every ſlight occaſion is not a neceſſary ſign of fear and cowardiſe. He that knew what life is, and the true uſe of it, had he many lives to ſpare, yet would he be loth to part with one of them upon better terms then thoſe our books tell us, that *Ariſtippus* a Philoſopher being at Sea in a dangerous *Tempeſt*, and bewraying ſome fear, when the weather was cleared up, a deſperate Ruffian came and upbraided him with it and tells him, that it was aſhame that he profeſſing wiſedome ſhould be afraid of his life, whereas himſelfe having had no ſuch education, expreſt no agony or dread at all. To

whom

whom the Phyloſopher replied, there was ſome difference between them two. *I know* ſaith he, *my life may be profitable many ways, and therefore am I loth to looſe it; but becauſe of your life you know little profit, little good can be made, you care not how eaſily you part with it.* Beloved it may be juſtly ſuſpected, that they who eſteem thus lightly of their lives, are but worthleſs and unprofitable men: our own experience tells us, that men who are prodigal of their money in Taverns and Ordinaries, are cloſe handed enough, when either pious uſes, or neceſſary and publick expence requires their liberality. I have not heard that *prodigals* ever built *Churches*. So theſe men that are ſo prodigal of their lives in baſe quarrels, peradventure would be cowardly enough; if either publick ſervice, or religion did call for their help; I ſcarcely believe any of them would die Martyrs, if the times ſo required it. Beloved, I do not go about to perſwade any man to fear death, but not to contemn life; life is the greateſt bleſſing God gives in this world, and did men know the worth of it, they would never ſo raſhly venture the loſs of it, but now lightly prizing both their own and others blood, they are eaſily moved to ſhed it, as fools are eaſily won to part with jewels, becauſe they know not how to value them. We muſt deal with our lives, as we do with our money, we muſt not be covetous of it, deſire life for no other uſe but to live, as covetous perſons deſire mony only to have it: neither muſt we be prodigal of life and triffle it away upon every occaſion: but we muſt be liberal of our lives, know upon what occaſion to ſpare, upon what occaſion to ſpend them. To know where and when and in what caſes to offer our ſelves to die, is a thing of greater skill, then a great part of them ſuppoſe, who pretend themſelves moſt forward to do it. *Nam impetu quodam & inſtinctu currere ad mortem cum multis commune eſt.* For brutiſhly to run upon and haſten unto death is a thing that many men can do; and we ſee that bruit beaſts many times will run upon the ſpears of ſuch as purſue them. *Sed deliberare & cauſas expendere utque ſuaſerit ratio vitæ mortisque conſilium ſuſcipere, vel ponere ingentis animi eſt*, but wiſely to look into, and weigh every occaſion, and as judgement and true diſcretion ſhall direct: ſo to entertain a reſolution either of life or death

death this were true fortitude and magnanimity. And indeed this prodigality and contempt of life, is the greateſt ground of this quarrellous and fighting humour. *Qui ſuam vitam contempſit, dominus eſt alienæ.* There is a kinde of men, who becauſe they contemn their own lives, make themſelves Lords and Commanders of other mens, eaſily provoking others to venture their blood, becauſe they care not how they looſe their own. Few places of great reſort are without theſe men, and they are the greateſt occaſioners of bloodſhed, you may quickly know them. There are few quarrels wherein they are not either principalls, or ſeconds, or ſome way or another will have a part in them. Might there be publick order taken for the reſtraint of ſuch men, that make a practice of quarrelling, and becauſe they contemne their own lives, carry themſelves ſo inſolently and imperiouſly towards others. It will prevent much miſchief, and free the Land of much danger of blood guiltineſs.

The ſecond cauſe, which is much alledged in defence of *Duels*, I told you was point of honour, a conceit that it is diſhonourable for men of place and faſhion quietly to digeſt and put up contumelye and diſgrace, and this they take to be a reaſon of that authority and ſtrength, as that it muſt admit of no diſpenſation; For anſwer. Firſt, the true fountain and original of quarrel are of another kinde and honour is abuſed as a pretence. The firſt occaſioners of a great part of them are indeed very diſhonourable, let there an *Inventory* be taken of all the challenges that have been made for ſome time paſt, and you ſhall finde that the greateſt part by far were raiſed either in Taverns, or Dicing houſes, or in the ſtews. Pardon me, if in a caſe of this nature I deal a little plainly. *Drinking*, *Gaming*, and *Whores*, theſe are thoſe rotten bones that lie hid under this *painted Sepulchre* and title of honour.

Laſtly, To conclude, It is a part of our profeſſion, as we are Chriſtians to ſuffer wrong and diſgrace. Therefore to ſet up an other doctrine, and teach that honour may plead preſcription againſt Chriſts precepts, and exempt you from patient enduring of contumely and diſgrace, you withſtand Chriſt, and denie your vocation; and therefore are unavoidably Apoſtats.

ſtats. But we looſe our labour, who give young men and unſetled perſons good advice and counſel. The civil magiſtrate muſt lay to his hand, and pity them, who want diſcretion to pity themſelves. For as *Bees*, though they fight very fiercely; yet if you caſt a little duſt amongſt them are preſently parted, ſo the enacting and executing ſome few good laws, would quickly allay this greatneſs of ſtomach and fighting humour. how many have been cenſured for Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, only becauſe by probable conſequence, and a far off they ſeemed to overthrow ſome Chriſtian principle: but here are men, who walk in our ſtreets, and come to our Churches, who γυμνῇ κεφαλῇ openly oppoſe that great point of Chriſtianity, which concerns our patience, and yet for their reſtraint, no Synod is called, no magiſtrate ſtirs, no Church cenſure is pronounced. The Church of *Rome* hath long ago to the diſgrace of the reformed Churches ſhut them out of the number of Chriſtians, and pronounced them all excommunicated perſons, who upon what pretence ſoever durſt enter the field for Duel and ſingle combate.

Theodoſius the Emperour enacted it for a Law, and it is extant at this day in the *Code*, *a Book of Laws*, that if any man ſpake diſgracefully of the Emperour, *Si ex levitate contemnendum, ſi ex infamia miſeratione dignum, ſi ex injuria remittendum.*

Lactantius. *Summa virtus habenda patientia eſt quam ut caperet homo juſtus voluit illum Deus pro inerte contemni.*

So great a vertue is patience, that for the attaining of it, it is Gods will we ſhould ſuffer our ſelves to be contemned as Cowards.

Chriſt is an Example to us of ſuffering diſgrace; let us as the Iſraelites look up to this *Serpent*, and all the ſtinging of fiery Serpents ſhall do us no harm.

We muſt forſake all and follow Chriſt: therefore Honour and Reputation too; If we be aſhamed of this pattern of patience, *Chriſt* will be aſhamed of us.

Now that God may give a Bleſſing to what hath been delivered, let us, &c.

FINIS.

Matt.

Matt. 26. verſe 75.

And he went forth, and wept bitterly.

THus to commit to writing, as here our Evangeliſt hath done; and ſo to lay open to all poſterity the many ſlips and errors which have much blemiſht and diſgrac'd the lives and actions of the beſt, and moſt excellent men: may ſeem in the judgement of a reaſonable man to participate of much envie and uncharitableneſs; ſo that their good life had remained upon record for our example, we might very well have ſuffered their errors to have ſlept and been buried with their bodies in their graves. St. *Paul* makes it the property of charity to hide the multitude of ſins: whoſe property then is it thus to blazon them at mid-day, and to fill the ears of the world with the report of them? *Conſtantine*, the firſt-born among Chriſtian Emperours, ſo far miſlik't this courſe, that he profeſſed openly, if he found any of his Biſhops and Clergy, whom it eſpecially concerned to have a reputation pure and ſpotleſs, committing any grievous ſin, to hide it from the eye of the world, he would cover it with his own garment: he knew well that which experience had long ago obſerved, *Non tam juvare quæ bene dicta ſunt, quam nocere quæ peſsime*: things well ſaid, well done, do nothing ſo much profit and further us, as the examples of ill ſpeeches, ill actions

do miſcheif and inconvenience us: and men are univerſally more apt from the errors and ſcapes of good men to draw apologies for their own, then to propoſe their good deeds for examples and patterns for themſelves to follow. Neither is this my own ſpeculation: St. *Auſtine* obſerved it long ſince, who diſcourſing upon the fall of *David* complaines, that from his example many framed unto themſelves this apology, *Si David, cur non et ego?* If David did thus, then why not I? *Præparas te ad peccandum*, ſaith he, *diſponis peccare: Librum Dei ut pecces inſpicis: Scripturas Dei ad hoc audis ut facias quod diſplicet Deo.* Thou doeſt prepare thy heart to ſin: thou provideſt thy ſelf of purpoſe; thou doeſt look into the book of God, even therefore, that thou mighteſt ſin. The Scriptures of God thou doeſt therefore hear, that by the example of thoſe that fell, thou mayeſt learn to do that which is diſpleaſing unto God. Yea, the greater is the perſon offending, the more dangerous is the example. For greatneſs is able of it ſelf, as it were, to legitimate foul acts, to adde authority and credit unto ill doings. *Facilius efficiet quiſquis objecerit, crimen honeſtum, quam turpem Catonem*: ſaith *Seneca* of *Cato*. Whoſoever he be, ſaith he, that objects drunkenneſs to *Cato*, ſhall more eaſily prove drunkenneſs to be a vertue, then that *Cato*, who uſed it, was to blame. When St. *Peter* (*Galath.* 2.) had halted in his behaviour betwixt the Gentiles and thoſe of the Circumciſion, St. *Paul* notes, that many of the *Jews*, yea, *Barnabas* himſelf was carried away with their diſſimulation. And to ſpeak truth, whom would not the authority and credit of *Peter* have drawn into an error? So eaſily the faults of great men, *adoleſcunt in exempla* grow up and become exemplary, and ſo full of hazzard is it, to leave unto the world a memorial of the errors and ſcapes of worthy perſons. Yet Notwithſtanding all this, the Holy Spirit of God, who bringeth light out of darkneſs, and worketh above and againſt all means, hath made the fall of his Saints an eſpecial means to raiſe his Church: and therefore hath it pleaſed him by the Pen-men of the lives of his Saints in holy Scripture, to lay open in the view of the world many groſſe faults and imperfections, even of the moſt excellent inſtruments of his glory. That which he tells

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the *woman* in the Goſpel, who annointed him before his paſſion, that whereſoever the Goſpel ſhould be preached, this fact of hers ſhould be recorded in memorial of her: the ſame, as it ſeems was his intent concerning his Saints; that whereſoever the word of life ſhould be taught, there likewiſe ſhould be related the grievous ſins of his ſervants. And therefore accordingly, ſcarcely is there any one Saint in the whole book of God, who is not recorded in one thing or other, to have notably overſhot himſelf. Sometimes he hath made the Saints themſelves the proclaimers of their own ſhame. So he makes *Moſes* to regiſter his own infidelity: ſo *David* in his one and fiftieth Pſalm, by the inſtinct of Gods ſpirit leaves unto the Church under his own hand, an evidence againſt himſelf for his adultery and murther. Sometimes he makes their deareſt friends the moſt exact chroniclers of their faults: for ſo St. *Chryſoſtome* obſerves of St. *Mark*, the companion and Scholer of *Peter*, who hath more particularly regiſtred the fall of his maſter, then any of the other Evangeliſts, τίς ἂν ἐκπλαγείη, &c. *Who would not marvel*, ſaith he, that St. *Mark not only concealed not the groſſe eſcape of his maſter, but hath more accurately then any of the reſt recorded the particulars* of it, αὐτῷ τῷ μαθητὴς εἶναι, *even becauſe he was his Diſciple*. As if he could have done his maſter no better ſervice, then to deliver a moſt exact relation of his fault. There are yet two things further to be noted in this diſpenſation of Almighty God. The firſt in regard of us, the ſecond in regard of the Saints, whoſe errors are recorded: for the firſt, who can but marvel, that ſince all things that are written, are written for our inſtruction, that if they be good, they may ſerve for our imitation; if otherwiſe, for warnings to us: yet many ſiniſter actions of the Saints of God are ſo expreſt in Scripture, without cenſure, without note, that it were almoſt ſome danger to pronounce of them? *Abrahams* equivocating with *Abimelech*, *Jacobs* deluding his blinde father, *Rachel* abuſing *Laban* with a lie, *Jephthe* his ſacrificing his daughter, *Sampſon* killing himſelf with the *Philiſtins*; theſe and many other beſides are ſo ſet down, that they may ſeem to have been done rather by divine inſtinct, then out of humane infirmity. Wherein the Ho-

ly Ghoſt ſeems to me *tanquam adoriri nos ex inſidiis*, to ſet upon us out of ambuſh, to uſe a kind of guile, to ſee whether we have τὴν σύνεζιν πνευματικὴν ſpiritual diſcretion, to trie whether we will attribute more to mens examples then to his precepts. Secondly, in regard of the Saints themſelves, it is worth our noting, that God ſeems to have had more care to diſcredit them, then to honour them, in that their faults are many times particularly regiſtred, but their repentance is wrapt up in ſilence: ſo the ſtory of *Noah* is concluded with his drunkenneſs: after the report of *Lots* inceſt, there is not a word of him throughout the Scriptures: as ſoon as the ſtory of *Salomons* idolatry is related, it immediately follows in the text: *And Salomon died.* We ſhould very much wrong theſe men, if we ſhould think that they paſt out of this life without repentance; becauſe their repentance is concealed. Doubtleſs if we were worthy to ſearch the myſteries of the ſpirit, we ſhould finde that the Holy Ghoſt hath left ſomething for our inſtruction even in this particular; for nothing in Scripture is done by chance. But as St. *Chryſoſtome* is wont ſometime to tell his auditory, that he will not reſolve all doubts, but leave ſome to meditate on by themſelves: ſo will I now deal with you, I will leave this to your private conſiderations, to practiſe your wits in the depths of chriſtianity, and ſo to frame reaſons unto your ſelves of this proceeding of the Holy ſpirit.

In the New Teſtament, the Holy Ghoſt conſtantly holds the ſame courſe of relating the fall of the Saints: and ſo accordingly by all foure Evangeliſts ſets down at large, the fearful ſin of *Peter* in denying and forſwearing his Maſter. But as it pleaſed him in mercy to give him repentance, ſo in theſe words which I have read unto you, hath it pleaſed him to leave unto the Church a memorial of it. Our firſt note therefore, before we come to the words, ſhall be a note of that exceeding uſe and profit which hath redounded to the Church by the regiſtring of *Peters* repentance; for this is done by the Holy Ghoſt, to ſignifie unto us the neceſſity and force of repentance, and ſorrow for ſin. The concealing of *Solomons* reclaim hath occaſioned ſome, upon acknowledgement of the neceſſity of repentance, to ſup-

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poſe that *Solomon* paſt away without it, and ſo received the finall reward of the impenitent. But he that ſhould have read this ſtory of *Peter*, and obſerved what authority he had afterwards, what eſpecial favour our Saviour did him after his reſurrection, notwithſtanding his fall, if the manner of his recovery had not been recorded, might eaſily have entertained a conceit very prejudicial to repentance, *Quid non ſperemus*? Who might not hope to regain the favour of God without ſhedding a tear, if *Peter* notwithſtanding ſo grievous a crime without repentance ſhould again be reconciled? We might therefore with excuſe have preſumed upon a nonneceſſity of repentance, as if it had been enough in caſe of ſin to practiſe that which common morality teaches, barely to relinquiſh it without any more adoe, that therefore which we learn by this regiſtring of *Peters* repentance is this, that for the clearing of a Chriſtian mans account unto God, it is not ſufficient barely to ceaſe from doing ill, to ſatisfie the law w^ch^ we broke either with our life, or with our goods: to make recompence to our neighbour for wrong done him, all this and much more waſhes not away the guilt of ſin before God. Theſe are things which the very light of nature teaches us to do. It was not to be thought that *David* to his former adulteries and murther would have added new: he that hath been forc't to reſtore fourefold, that which he had taken away by ſtealth, will peradventure take warning to ſteal no more. But this doth not ſuffice him. There is a further duty, a duty of repentance required of every Chriſtian man, a duty proper to him alone. For this doctrine of repentance Nature never taught in her ſchool, neither was it ever found in the books of the learned. It is particular to the Book of God, and to the doctrine that came down from Heaven. In the ſins againſt the firſt Table we offend immediately, and only againſt God: but in the ſins againſt the ſecond Table, there is a double guilt contracted, one againſt God, another againſt our Neighbour: In theſe ſins, as there is a double fault, ſo there is a double ſatisfaction to be made, one unto God, another to our Neighbour: for this ſecond ſatisfaction between man and man, many Heathen common-wealths have been very ſufficiently furniſhed

with ſtore of excellent laws. But of an attonement over and above to be made to God, they ſcarce ſeem to have had any thought: and indeed to ſpeak truth, to what purpoſe had it been to trouble their heads about it; It is impoſſible that it ſhould ever fall within the conceit of any reaſonable creature, to pronounce what ſatisfaction was to be made for offence committed againſt God. He is of infinite majeſty, holding no proportion, no correſpondence with any created being. What recompence then can he receive from the hands of duſt and aſhes? Ten thouſand worlds, were we able to give them all, could not make ſatisfaction for any part of the ſmalleſt offence we have committed againſt him: when therefore the inventions of men were thus at a ſtand, when all diſcourſe, all reaſon were poſed, it pleaſed God in mercy to open his pleaſure in his word, and to accept of true and unfeigned repentance, as the only means to waſh away the guilt of ſin againſt his majeſty. A thing in the eye of fleſh and blood altogether ridiculous. And therefore *Julian*, that accurſed *Apoſtata*, ſcorning *Conſtantine* the Emperour for betaking himſelf to the Chriſtian religion, in contempt and deriſion of Baptiſme and Repentance, thus ſpeaks: ὅσις φθορεὺς, ὅσις μιαιφόνος, ὅσις ἐναγὴς καὶ βδελυρὸς ἴτω θαρρῶν, &c. Hoe, whoſoever is a corrupter and a defiler of women, whoſoever is a man-ſlayer, whoſoever is an impure and unclean perſon, let him from henceforth *be ſecure, and care for nothing. I will ſhew him a little water*, in which, *if he do but dip himſelf, he ſhall be forthwith clean*: yea, *though he deſperately run again into the ſame crimes. I will give him this gift, if he but knock his breaſt and ſtrike his forehead*, (which are the geſtures of the penitent,) *he ſhall without any more adoe become as pure as glaſs.* 'Tis true indeed, in ſpight of unbelieving miſcreants, it hath pleaſed God through the fooliſhneſs of Baptiſme and Repentance to ſave thoſe that are his. The water of baptiſme, and the tears of true repentance, creatures of themſelves weak and contemptible; yet through the wonderful operation of the grace of God annext unto them are able, were our ſins as red as twice-died ſcarlet, to make them as white as ſnow. The ſentence of God denounced unto *Adam*, *What day thou eateſt of the Tree thou ſhalt*

ſhall die, certainly was abſolute and irrevocable neither could any repentance of *Adams* totally have reverſt it. Yet *Abulenſis* cries out, *O quam fœlix humanum genus, &c.* O how happy ſhould mankinde have been, if *Adam* after his fall had uſed the benefit of Repentance, and in time acknowledged his ſin unto God. Yea, he goes further and ſeems to intimate, that it had been of force almoſt to reſtore us unto our primitive purity. For this way his words ſeem to look, when he ſaith, *Quod ſi ſeipſum accuſaſſet nos omnes ab accuſatione & judicio liberaſſet; If he had accuſed himſelf; doubtleſs he had freed us all from accuſation and curſe.* Whatſoever his meaning was, thus much without danger we may think, that if our firſt Parents had not ſo ſtrangly ſhuffled their fault from the one to the other, the man to the woman, the woman to the ſerpent, but had freely acknowledged it, and humbly begged pardon for it, God whoſe mercies were then as many and as ready as now they are, would, if not altogether have revok't, yet doubtleſs much have qualified and mitigated the ſentence of the curſe. If *Adam* had uſed more ingenuity in confeſſing, God would have uſed leſs rigour in puniſhing. Out of all this I draw this one leſſon for your inſtruction. Whoſoever he be that thinks himſelf quit of ſome ſins into which either through weakneſs or careleſsnes he hath fallen, let him not preſently flatter himſelf as if for this his book of debt unto God were cancel'd, as if he were in ſtate of grace and new birth: but let him examine his own conſcience, and Impartially ſift all the manner of his reclaim. He may peradventure finde that upon ſome moral reſpect he hath broken off the practice of his ſin: he may finde that he hath ſatisfied his neighbour, contented the Law, done many acts, by which he hath purchaſt reconciliation with the world. But if he finde not this paſſage of Repentance and hearty ſorrow twixt God and his own ſoul, let him know that God is yet unſatisfied, that he is yet in his ſin: his ſin is yet unrepented of and therefore ſtill remains.

THus from the neceſſity of regiſtring *Peters* Repentance I come to the words wherein it is regiſtred, *And he went*

out

out, &c. In theſe words we will conſider four things, Firſt the perſon: *He*] *He went forth*; or, *and going forth he wept.* Secondly, the preparative to the Repentance, *He went forth.* Thirdly, the Repentance it ſelf, compriſed in the word *wept.* Fourthly, the extent and meaſure, and compaſs of this Repentance, in the laſt word, *bitterly.* 1. *He,* The way of mans life is a ſlippery way: no man whilſt he is in it hath the priviledge of not ſliding, juſt, and unjuſt, thus far, are of like condition: both fall. But here they differ, the juſt man riſeth again. Not the eminency of *Peters* perſon, not his great underſtanding in the myſtery of Chriſt, not his reſolution in our Saviours quarrel, not the love and reſpect his Maſter bare him, kept him from falling. But *Peter* being fallen provides himſelf to riſe, and therefore in the ſecond place, *he went forth*, ſaith my Text, *Peter* was now in the High-prieſts Court, a place very unfit for one in *Peters* caſe. Princes Courts are no place for Repentance: To wear ſoft raiment, to fair deliciouſly every day, this is Courtiers guiſe. But τὸ τριχινὸν ῥάκος καὶ τὸ τῆς μετανοίας δάκρυον, the ſhirt of hair, the tears of Repentance; this is the habit of the penitent. But wherefore went *Peter* out? Did he as our Saviour obſerves of the Scribes and Phariſees, go out into the wilderneſs to ſee? to gaze and look about him? No, His eyes now muſt do him other ſervice. He went out as *Joſeph* did from the face of his Brethren, to ſeek a place to weep. *Maldonat* the Jeſuite thinks it would have been a more goodly thing, and far more beſeeming *Peters* reſolution, if in the place he had offended in the ſame he had repented: if before thoſe he had made a conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt before whom he had denyed him: But be the reaſons what they will which moved *Peter* to go forth, we will not preſcribe unto the Saints a form of Repentance we will ceaſe therefore to diſpute what *Peter* ſhould have done, and rather gather leſſons for our ſelves out of what he did: fourthly, and laſt of all, as *Peters* fault was great, ſo he contends that his Repentance may be as ſerious. The tears therefore he ſheds are not ſlight, and perfunctory ſhed only for faſhions ſake, ſuch as *Quintilian* ſpake of, *nihil facilius lachrimis exareſcit, Nothing ſooner grows dry then tears:* but as the Text ſaith,

He

He wept bitterly: to ſummon up that *Siccoculum genus Chriſtianorum*, a ſort of Chriſtians, who never had tear dropt from their eye to witneſs their repentance: to teach us to enlarge the meaſure of our ſorrow for our ſins, and in caſe of grievous relapſe not mince out our repentance, but to let looſe the rains unto grief. And thus I come to handle the parts in order more particularly: and firſt of the perſon, *He*.

Amongſt all the Saints of God whoſe errours are ſet down in holy Scriptures, there is none whoſe perſon was more eminent, or fall more dangerous then Saint *Peters*. That which wiſemen have obſerved in great and eminent wits, that they evermore exceed, either they are exceeding good or elſe they are exceeding bad, in Saint *Peter* was true both ways. His gifts of Faith, of underſtanding in the myſtery of Godlines, of reſolution to die in our Saviours cauſe, were wonderful: but yet his errours were as many and as ſtrange, yea, ſo much the more ſtrange, becauſe in that thing he moſt offended, in which he was moſt eminent. It was a great argument of his Faith, when in the Tempeſt meeting our Saviour on the waters, he calls out unto him, *if it be thou, command me to come unto thee on the waters*; but no ſooner was he come out of the ſhip, but through infidelity he began to ſink. Again, of his great underſtanding in the myſtery of Chriſt he gave a notable inſtance, when being queſtioned by our Saviour *whom men took him to be*, he gave the firſt evident, plain, and open teſtimony that ever was given him by man, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God*. *John* indeed gave teſtimony, and ſo did *Simeon*, and ſo did many more: but it was more involv'd, done in more covert terms, more dark: Whence we may and that not without ſome probability argue, that the underſtanding of theſe men was not ſo evidently, ſo fully, ſo perſpicuouſly enlightned as was *Peters*. *Signum eſt intelligentis poſſe docere*: It is a great argument that a man doth paſſing well underſtand himſelf, when he is able perſpicuouſly and plainly to ſpeak to the underſtanding of another. This confeſſion therefore of *Peter*, that carries with it greater light and perſpicuity then any yet that ever was given, doth not obſcurely intimate that he had a greater meaſure

ſure of illumination, then any of his predeceſſors. Yet to ſee the wonderful diſpenſation of the holy Ghoſt, ſcarce was this confeſſion out of his mouth, but in the very next bout where our Saviour begins further to enform him in the particulars of his Paſſion, and Death, and deſpiteful handling by the *Jews*, the edge of his conceit was quite turned, quite blunted and dull. Poor man, as if he had been quite ignorant of the end of Chriſts coming, out of a humane conceit and pity, he takes upon him to counſel and adviſe our Saviour. Sir, *favour your ſelf, theſe things ſhall not come unto you*: and for this pains he is rewarded with no leſs reproachful a name then that of *Satan*, of a ſeducer, of a Devil. He that ſhall peruſe the ſtory of the Goſpel, and here ſtay himſelf, might think that that which we read *John* the ſixth, *v.* 70. ſpoken of *Judas*, *Have I not choſen you twelve and one of you is a Divel*: were here fulfilled in *Peter*, Laſt of all his love to Chriſt, and reſolution in his quarrel, he gave an evident teſtimony, when he proteſted himſelf ready to lay down his life for him. *Greater love then this in the Apoſtles judgement, no man hath then to lay down his life for his friend.* This Saint *Peter* had, if we may believe himſelf. Yea, he began to expreſs ſome acts of it, when in defence of his maſter he manfully drew his ſword, and wounded the ſervant of the high Prieſt. But ſee how ſoon the ſcene is changed. This good Champion of our Saviour, as a Lyon that is reported to be daunted with the crowing of a Cock, is ſtricken out of countenance and quite amazed with the voyce of a ſilly Damſel. Yea, ſo far is he poſſeſt with a ſpirit of fear, that he not only denies, but abjures his maſter, and perjures himſelf, committing a ſin not far behind the ſin of *Judas*; yea, treading it hard upon the heels. But the mercy of God that leaves not the honour of his ſervant in the duſt of death, but is evermore careful to raiſe us up from the death of ſin, unto the life of righteouſneſs; ſuffers not this rock, this great pillar of his Church to be overthrown. He firſt admoniſhes him by the crowing of a Cock: when that would not ſerve, himſelf (full of careful love and goodneſs) though in the midſts of his enemies, forgets his own danger, and remembers the danger of his ſervant. Himſelf was now as a

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ſheep before the ſhearer, dumb and not opening his mouth: yet forgets he not that he is that great ſhepherd of the flock, but *David* like reſcues one of his fould from the mouth of the Lion and from the paw of the Bear. *He turns about and looks upon him*, ſaith the Text, he cries louder unto him with his look, then the cock could with his voice. Of all the members in the body the *eye* is the moſt moveing part, that oft-times is ſpoken in a look, which by no force of ſpeech could have been uttered, this look of Chriſt did ſo warm *Peter* almoſt frozen dead with fear that it made him well-near melt into tears. As if he had cried out with the ſpouſe, *Cant. 6. O turn away thine eyes, for they have overcome me*, he grows impatient of his looks, and ſeeks for a place to weep, what a look was this think you? Saint *Jerome* diſcourſing with himſelf what might be the cauſe that many of the Diſciples, when they were called by our Saviour, preſently without further conſultation aroſe and followed him, thinks it not improbable, that there did appear ſome Glory and Majeſty in his Countenance, which made them believe he was more than a Man that thus beſpake them; whatſoever then appear'd in his Looks, doubtleſs in this Look of his was ſeen ſome Soveraign power of his Diety that could ſo ſpeedily recover a man thus almoſt deſperately gone: a man that had one foot in hell, whom one ſtep more had irrecoverably caſt away: It was this Look of Chriſt that reſtored *Peter*. *Quos reſpicit Jeſus plorant delictum*, ſaith Saint *Ambroſe*, thoſe weep for their ſins whom Jeſus looks upon. *Negavit primo Petrus & non flevit, quia non reſpexerat Dominus. Negavit ſecundo: non flevit, quia adhuc non reſpexerat Dominus. Negavit tertio, & reſpexit Jeſus, & ille amariſsimè flevit.* *Peter* denies him once, and repents not, for Jeſus look't not back upon him: he denies him the ſecond time, and yet he weeps not, for yet the Lord look't not back. He denies him the third time, and Jeſus looks upon him, and then he weeps bitterly. Before I come to make uſe of this, it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to ſay ſomething unto ſome queries that here ariſe concerning the condition of *Peter*, and in him of all the Elect of God, whilſt they are in ſtate of ſin unrepented of for, as for *Peters* faith, which ſome makes

doubt of, there can as I conceive; no queſtion be made. It is not to be thought that *Peter* had rever'ſt with himſelf the confeſſion that he had formerly made of Chriſt or that he thought doubtleſs I have er'd, this is not the perſon whom I took him to be. Indeed, through fear and cowardize he durſt not confeſs that with his mouth unto ſalvation which in his heart he believed unto righteouſnes. Any thing further then this, that ſpeech of our Saviour takes away, wherein he tells him before hand, *I have pray'd that thy faith might not fail.* But ſince our Age hath had experience of ſome, who becauſe the Election of God ſtandeth ſure, and Chriſts ſheep none can take out of his hands, conclude therefore that for the Elect of God there is no falling from Grace, that to *David* & *Peter* no ill could happen, no though (for ſo they have given it out) that they had died in the very act of their ſin: To meet with ſuch diſputants, I will briefly lay down what I conceive is to be thought in the point. Wherefore *parate fauces pani*, as Saint *Barnard* ſpeaks. Hitherto I have given you milk provide your ſtomacks now for harder meat, and ſuch as befits ſtrong men in Chriſt. *Peter* and *Judas* (for I will couple them both together in my diſcourſe, whilſt they are both joyned together in ſin) *Peter*, I ſay, and *Judas* in regard of their own perſons, were both, more or leſs in the ſame caſe, both fallen from Grace, both in ſtate of ſin and damnation, till the Repentance of *Peter* altered the caſe on his part. But the Grace of God ſignified two things: either the purpoſe of Gods Election, the Grace and Favour Inherent in the Perſon of God, which he ſtill caſts upon thoſe that are his notwithſtanding their manifold backſlidings: or elſe it ſignifies the habit of ſanctifying qualities Inherent in the Regenerat Man, thoſe good Graces of God, by which he walks holy and unblameable. Again, the ſtate of damnation ſignifies likewiſe two things: either the purpoſe of Gods reprobation, or elſe the habit of damnable qualities in the ſinful man: from the ſtate of Grace, as it ſignifies the purpoſe of God to ſave, the Elect can never fall: In the ſtate of damnation, as it ſignifies ſomething inherent in us, every man by nature is, and the elect of God even after their

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Calling many times fall into it: that is, they may and do many times fall into thoſe ſins; yea, for a time continue in them, too (*David* did ſo for a whole years ſpace) which except they be done away by repentance, inevitably bring forth eternal death, for the ſtate of mortal ſin unrepented of, is truly and indeed the ſtate of death; yea, the whole and ſole reaſon of the condemnation of every one that periſhes; for Chriſt hath ſaid it, *except ye repent, ye ſhall all periſh.* So then you ſee, that into the ſtate of damnation, as it ſignifieth ſomething inherent in us, a man may fall, and yet not fall from the ſtate of grace, as it ſignifies Gods purpoſe of election: for both theſe are compatible for a time; if then we look upon the perſons of *Peter* and *Judas*, both of them are in the ſtate of mortal ſin unrepented of; and therefore both in ſtate of damnation: but if we look back unto God, we ſhall ſee a hand reacht out unto *Peter*, pulling him back as he is now running down the hill, which hand we do not ſee reacht out unto *Judas*. Chriſt had a look in ſtore for *Peter*, which if it had pleaſed him to have lent unto *Judas*, *Judas* would have done that which *Peter* did. When then we pronounce *Peter*, and in him any of the elect of God, as they are in *Peters* caſe to be fallen from grace; we ſpeak not with relation to any purpoſe of God; but we mean only that they have not that meaſure of Sanctification, which ought to be in every childe, which ſhall be an heir to life, and what hinders to pronounce that man fallen from grace, whom we muſt needs acknowledge to be in that ſtate, in which if he continue, there is no way open but to death? What then may ſome man ſay, had *Peter* loſt the ſpirit of adoption? Had he not thoſe ſanctifying qualities of faith, hope, & charity, wch are proper to the Saints, and are given them by divine inſpiration in the moment of their converſion: was that immortal ſeed of the word quite kill'd? No verily; How then? Having all theſe, may he yet be called the childe of death? I anſwer, he may and is indeed ſo, for theſe do not make him that at no time he can be ſo, but that finally he ſhall not be ſo, for they are not armour of proof to keep out all darts, neither do they make our ſouls invulnerable, as the Poets faine the body of *Cyenus* or *Achilles* to have been: but they are precious

ous balms evermore ready at hand to cure the wound when it is given. They are not of force to hinder mortal ſin, (for then every ſoul in whom they are were pure, undefiled, neither were it poſſible, that the Elect of God after their converſion ſhould fall,) but they are of force to work repentance, which makes all our wounds remediable. He that is mortally ſick and dies, and he that is likewiſe mortally ſick, and through help of reſtoring phyſick recovers, in this both agree, that they are mortally ſick, notwithſtanding the recovery of one party. The wound of *Peter* and of *Judas* was mortal, and in both feſtred unto death; but there was balm in *Gilead* for *Peter*, for *Judas* there was none. The ſting of the *fiery Scorpion* in the wilderneſs was deadly, and all that looked not on the brazen ſerpent died. The brazen ſerpent altred not the quality of the Scorpions ſting, it only hindred the working of the poyſon: the ſting of ſin in *Peter*, and in *Judas* was deadly: but he that was lift up on mount *Calvary*, as the brazen ſerpent was in the wilderneſs, at him did *Peter* look and live: *Judas* did not look, and therefore died. How comes it about beloved that God every where in Scripture threatens death, without exception to all that repent not, if the ſtate of *ſin* unrepented of, in whomſoever it is, be not indeed the ſtate of death. When *David* was intending to ſtay in *Keilah*; and ſuſpecting the inhabitants of that city, asks of God *whether the men of Keilah would deliver him over into the hand of Saul*: God tells him *they would*: and therefore certainly had he ſtayed there, he had been betrayed unto *Saul*: to urge that *Peter*, becauſe of Gods purpoſe to ſave him, could not have finally miſcarried, though he had died without repentance, (as ſome have not ſtuck to give out) is nothing elſe in effect, but to maintain againſt God, that *David* had he ſtayed in *Keilah* had not fallen into *Sauls* hands, becauſe we know it was Gods purpoſe to preſerve *David* from the violence of *Saul*. All the determinations of God are of equal certainty. It was no more poſſible for *Saul* to ſeaze on *David*, then it is for the Devil to pull one of Gods elect out of his hand; as therefore the determinate purpoſe of God to free *David* from the malice of *Saul*, took not away that ſuppoſition, *If* David *go to* Keilah, *he ſhall*

fall

fall into the hands of Saul, ſo neither doth the decree of God to ſave his elect deſtroy the ſuppoſition, *if they repent not, they die eternally*, for the purpoſes of God, though impoſſible to be defeated, yet lay not upon things any violent neceſsity, they exempt not from the uſe of ordinary means: they infringe not our liberty, they ſtand very well with common caſualty: yea, theſe things are the very means by which his decrees are brought about. I may not ſtand longer upon this, I will draw but one ſhort admonition, and ſo an end: Let no man preſume to look into the Third Heaven, to open the books of life and death, to pronounce over peremptorily of Gods purpoſe concerning himſelf, or any other man. Let every man look into himſelf, and trie whether he be in the faith or no; the ſureſt means to trie this, is to take an unpartial view of all our actions, many deceive themſelves whilſt they argue from their faith to their works, whereas they ought out of their works to conclude their faith; whileſt preſuming they have faith, and the gifts of ſanctification, they think all their actions warrantable: whereas we ought firſt throughly to ſift all our actions, to examine them at the Touch of Gods Commandements, and if indeed we finde them currant, then to conclude that they come from Sanctifying Graces of the Holy Spirit. It is faith indeed that gives the tincture, the die, the reliſh unto our actions, yet the only means to examine our faith is by our works. It is the nature of the Tree that gives the goodneſs, the ſavour and pleaſantneſs to the fruit, yet the fruit is the only means to us, to know whether the tree be good. *By their fruit ye ſhall know them*, ſaith Chriſt: It is not a rule not only to know others, but our ſelves too. To reaſon thus, I am of the elect, I therefore have ſaving faith, and the reſt of the ſanctifying qualities, therefore that which I do is good: thus I ſay to reaſon is very prepoſterous. We muſt go a quite contrary courſe, and thus reaſon: my life is good, and through the mercies of God in *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſhall ſtand with Gods Juſtice: I therefore have the Gifts of Sanctification, and therefore am of Gods Elect: for *Peter* to have ſaid with himſelf, I am of the Elect, this ſin therefore cannot indanger me, had been great preſumption, but thus to have reaſoned, my ſin

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is deadly, therefore except I repent, I am not of the number of Gods Elect, this reasoning had well befitted *Peter*, and becomes every Christian man, whom common frailty drives into the like distress.

I made my entrance into my Sermon with the consideration of the wisdome of God, in permitting his chiefest servants to fall dangerously: I have largely exemplified it in the person of *Peter*: give me leave to make this further beneficial unto you by drawing some uses from it; for great profit hath redounded to the Church through the fall of these men; *Felicius ille cecidit quam ceteri steterunt*, saith St. *Ambrose* of this fall of *Peter*. His sin hath more avail'd us, then the righteousnes of many others; for whersoever it pleases the Holy Spirit of God to work effectually, (I speak cautelously, because I would give no place to presumption) in him he makes excellent use oftimes, even of sin and evil. First of all it is a tried Case, that many times through negligence and carelesnes, we suffer our selves to lie open to many advantages. In such a case as this, a blow given us, serves us for a remembrance to call our wits about us, ἀναζωπυρεῖν, to *stir up the Grace of God that is in us*, which many times is *interlunio* lies covered like fire under ashes; for as a skilful wrestler having suffered his adversary to take advantage upon some oversight, recollects himself, and comes forward with greater strength and wariness: *et pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus*: shame of the foil and impatience of disgrace, addes strength unto him and kindles him: so oft times is it with the Saints of God. The shame of having fallen makes them summon up their forces, to look better about them, to fulfil their duty in larger sort, then if they had not slipt at all. Hence it is, that we see that of the bittereſt enemies of the Church, have been made the best converts; of this we have a notable example in S. *Paul*; how eager was he in the quarrel of the *Jews* against *Christ*? None a more mischievous enemy to the Christians then he; yet, when it pleased God to shew him his error, he proved one of the most excellent instruments of Christs glory, that ever was on earth. And so accordingly he gives himself a most true testimony: *I have laboured more abundantly*, not then one or two of

of them, but, *then they all*: his writings being as much in quantity, as of them all: and St. *Lukes* ſtory being nothing elſe almoſt but a regiſter of the acts of St. *Paul*. The ſenſe and conſcience, I doubt not, of that infinite wrong done to the Church provoked him to meaſure back to the utmoſt of his power, his pains and labour in making up the breach, he had formerly made: here then is a notable leſſon for us, teaching us to make our former ſins and impieties, admonitioners unto us to know our own ſtrength, & by Chriſtian care & watchfulneſs to prevent all advantages, which the Devil may take by our rechleſneſs and negligence; for beloved, it is not ſo much our impotency and weakneſs, as our ſloth and careleſneſs, againſt which the common enemy doth prevail; for through the Grace of him that doth inable us, we are ſtronger then he: and the policie of Chriſtian warfare hath as many means to beat back and defend, as the deepeſt reach of Satan hath to give the on-ſet. The *Envious man* in the Goſpel ruſht not into the field in deſpite of the huſbandman, and the ſervants, but came and ſowed his tares, *whilſt men ſlept* ſaith the text. Our neglect and careleſneſs is the ſleep that he takes advantage of; when *David* was ſo ſtrangely overtaken, the Scripture tells us he roſe from *his bed*, to walk on the top of his pallace, from his bed indeed he aroſe, but not from his ſleep; for mark I beſeech you: *David* had ſpent much of his time about the Court, he had been abroad, and ſeen and ranſak'd many cities, and doubtleſs he had ſeen many women as fair as the wife of *Vriah*, and that in his younger days, when he was more apt to kindle. Why then now commits he ſo great an overſight? Look on him a while as now he is. He is now at reſt in his pallace, at eaſe on his bed, and to ſolace himſelf he muſt riſe and walk at the top of his houſe, and idely gaze upon a naked dame: of this his idleneſs the Devil takes advantage: this is the ſleep in which he comes and ~~ſows tares in *David's* heart~~, even al manner of luſt. So that *David* fell as *Adam* did in Paradiſe, not as a man that falls before an enemy ſtronger then himſelf. The greateſt part of the ſins which we commit, are in this rank with *Davids* ſin: *He is faithful*, ſaith the Apoſtle, and ſuffers no man to be tempted above his ſtrength. Many creatures,

if they knew their ſtrength, would never ſuffer themſelves to be aw'd by man as they are. Beloved, we are become like horſe and mule without underſtanding, we know not our *ſtrength* we are more blinde then the ſervant of *Elizæus*, and ſee not *that they that are with us are more, and more mighty then they that are againſt us.* The Angels are miniſtring ſpirits, ſent out of purpoſe to gard us, and doubtleſs do many and great ſervices for us, though we perceive not. We have the army of God, *ubi mille clipei & omnis armatura fortium*, where are a thouſand bucklers and all the weapons of the mighty, the helmet of Salvation, the ſword of the Spirit, the ſheild of Faith to quench all the fiery darts of ſin: only let us not neglect to buckle it on, and make uſe of it. We have to ſtrive with an enemy, ſuch a one as *Anibal* reported *Marcellus* to be, *Qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam poteſt ſeu vicit, ferociter inſtat victis; ſeu victus eſt, inſtaurat cum victoribus certamen*; a reſtleſs enemy that is never quiet, howſoever the world goes, if he conquer us, he inſolently inſults upon us; if we foil him; he ſtill bethinks himſelf how to ſet upon us afreſh. Let us not therefore ſuppoſe *ſedendo & votis debellari poſſe*, that the conqueſt will be gotten by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing all were well. We oft maintain againſt the Church of *Rome*, that our natural abilities while ſt we live ſerve us not to fulfil the Law of God. What bootes it thus to diſpute? ſhall the confeſſion of our unableneſs to do what we ought, excuſe us at all if we do not that which we are able? S. *Auſtin* was of opinion how juſtly I will not diſpute but of that opinion he was, and it was the occaſion of his book, *de ſpiritu & litera ad Marcellinum*: that it was poſſible for us even in this natural life ſeconded by the grace of God, perfectly to accompliſh what the Law requires at our hands. Let the truth of this be as it may be: certainly that is moſt true which the ſame Father adds: that let our ſtrength be what it will, yet if we know not our duty we ſhall do it no more then the traveller ſound of body or limb, can go that way aright of which he is utterly ignorant. Yea, let our ability be perfect, and let our knowledge be alſo abſolute, yet if we have no minde; if we want a love unto our duty, if we ſuffer our ſelves to be overſwayed by affection to other things, yet ſhall

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we not do our duty. For which of us being at liberty will do that which he hath no love unto? Beloved, as for our knowledge God hath left unto us Scripture, the perfect regiſter of all our duty the abſolute itinerary and map of all the courſe which in this life we are to run: & as for *love* he plentifully ſheds it in the hearts of all thoſe that by faithful prayer beg it of him. If we ſhall ſearch the Scripture to improve our knowledge, if we ſhall earneſtly beg at his hands to inflame our love. Let our natural poſſibilities be what they will: he that now doth little amongſt us ſhall do much, and he that doth much ſhall do much more: and the promiſes made unto the *Jews* concerning their carnal enemies, ſhall be made good on us concerning our ſpiritual and ghoſtly enemies, *one of us ſhall chaſe a thouſand*, and *if they come out againſt us on way, they ſhall fly before us ſeven wayes.* And thus much for the firſt uſe.

There is a ſecond benefit of great weight and moment, which we reap out of the conſideration of the errours of theſe excellent Miniſters of God: namely a leſſon teaching us to *beware of ſpiritual pride.* Of all the vices which our nature is ſubject unto, this is the moſt dangerous, and of which we had need be moſt cautelous. For whereas all other vices proceed from ſome ill in us, from ſome ſinful imbecillity of our nature, this alone ariſes out of our good parts; Other ſins draw their being from that original corruption which we drew from our Parents, but this may ſeem to be the mother of that; as by which even natures unſtained and in their primitive purity may moſt eaſily fall. And therefore not without ſome probability is it concluded in the Schools, That no other crime could throw the Angels down from heaven but this. That which one leaves for a memorial to great men, that in dangerous times, *non minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala*, it was a matter of like danger to have a good name as an ill, that may I pronounce of a Chriſtian man, the danger of his innocency is not much leſs then of his faults. For this Devil when he cannot drive us to *deſpair* by reaſon of our ſin, takes another courſe to ſee if he can make us *preſume* upon conceit of our righteouſneſs. For when by the preventing grace of God we keep our ſelves from greater offences

if we finde our ſelves to have a love unto the word of God, and the true profeſſours of it, to be rich in almſdeeds, to have a part in other acts of righteouſneſs, he makes us firſt take notice of theſe good things in us, notice taken draws us to love and admire them in us: ſelf-love draws us on to compare our ſelves with others, then to prefer our ſelves before others, and thirdly to diſdain others in reſpect of our ſelves. Here now is a gap laid open to a thouſand inconveniences. And hence it is that we ſee divers times men otherwiſe of life and reputation pure and unblameable, upon conceit and unconſiderateneſs by a ſecret judgement of God to fall upon extremes no leſs fearful then are the iſſues of open profaneſs and impiety. To cut of therefore all way that may be opened to let in ſpiritual pride it hath pleaſed God to make uſe of this as of a ſoverain remedy namely to permit even in his moſt choſen veſſels, evermore ſecret and hidden infirmities and ſometimes groſs and open ſcapes, which may ſerve when they look into themſelves to abate all overweening conceit of their own righteouſneſs, and when they ſhall look into the errours of others, may be ſecret admonitioners unto them, not raſhly to condemn them, conſidering their own weakneſs. I will therefore ſhut up this place with the ſaying of Saint *Ambroſe*, *etiam lapſus ſanctorum utilis eſt*, *Nihil mihi obfuit quod negavit Petrus, etiam profuit quod emendavit.* The fall of the Saints is a very profitable thing. It hurts not me that *Peter* denied Chriſt, and the example of his amendment is very beneficial unto me. And ſo I come unto the preparative unto *Peters* Repentance, in theſe words, *and he went forth.*

THe wiſdom of God hath taught the Church ſometime by expreſs meſſage delivered by words of mouth, ſometime by dumb ſignes and actions. When *Jeremy* walk't up and down the city with a yoke of wood about his neck, when *Ezekiel* lay upon his ſide, beſieged a Slate with the draught of *Jeruſalem* upon it, and like a baniſhed man carried his ſtuff upon his ſhoulders from place to place: they did no leſs propheſie the captivity, deſolation, famine and wo, which was to fall upon

upon *Jeruſalem*, then when they denounced it by direct word and ſpeech: yea, many of the ordinary actions of the *Patriarks*, which ſeem to participate of chance, and to be in the ſame rank with thoſe of other men, themſelves (as a learned divine of our Mercerus age obſerves) not intending or underſtanding any ſuch thing, contained by the diſpenſation of the Holy Ghoſt, eſpecial leſſons and inſtructions for us. That ſpeech of *Sarah*, *caſt out the bondwoman and her ſon*, &c. ſeemed to *Abraham* only a ſpeech of curſt heart, and ſhe her ſelf perceives not her ſelf to ſpeak by direction from God, but moved with impatience of *Iſmaels* petulant behaviour toward her ſon. Yet the Holy Ghoſt himſelf hath taught us, that this act of hir prefigured a great myſtery. Many diſputations there are concerning the cauſe of this action of *Peters* going forth: whether it were out of the common infirmity that is in moſt men, namely a greater ſhame to repent then to offend: or whether it were out of modeſty and good nature, that he could not indure the ſight of Chriſt, whom he had ſo grievouſly offended. Howſoever it were, we ſhall do this Scripture no wrong, if we think it to contain an act in outward ſhew caſual, and like unto the actions of other men, but inwardly indeed an eſpecial action of a perſon great in the ſight of God; and therefore comprehending ſome eſpecial inſtruction. And to ſpeak plainly, this abandoning the place wherein he fell, the company for fear of whom he fell, and thoſe things that were occaſioners of his ſin, doth not obſcurely point out unto us an eſpecial duty of ſpeedy relinquiſhing and leaving of all, either friends or place, or means, or whatſoever elſe, though dearer unto us then our right hand, then our right eye; if once they become unto us inducements to Sin. In former days before the *Fulneſs of time came*, the Calling of the Elect of God was not by any one act more often prefigured, then by this action of *going forth*. When the purpoſe of God was to ſelect unto himſelf a Church, and to begin it in *Abraham*, *come forth*, ſaith he unto him, *out of thy countrey, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers houſe*. When *Iſrael* being in *Ægypt*, it pleaſed God to appoint them a ſet Form and manner of ſerving him, before this could be done, they and all theirs muſt *come forth of Ægypt*.

gypt, they muſt not leave a hoof behinde them. When the time of the Goſpel was come, our *Saviour* holds the ſame courſe: none muſt be of his company, but ſuch as come forth, *leave all and follow him.* And therefore the Apoſtle putting the *Hebrews* in minde of their duty, expreſſes it in this very tearm; *Let us go forth, therefore unto him,* ſaith he without the camp, *bearing his reproach.* And in the original language of the New Teſtament, the Church hath her name from this thing, from being *called forth*; ſo that without a going forth there is no Church, no Chriſtianity, no Service to God, the reaſon of all which is this: we are all by nature in the High Prieſts court, as *Peter* was, where we all deny and forſwear our Maſter as *Peter* did: neither is there any place for Repentance, till with *Peter* we go forth and weep.

For our further light we are to diſtinguiſh the practiſe of this our going forth, according to the diverſity of the times of the Church. In the firſt ages, when Chriſtianity was like unto Chriſt, and had no place to hide its head, no entertainment but what perſecution, and oppreſsion, and fire, and ſword could yield it; there was then required at the hands of Chriſtians, an *Actual going forth,* a real leaving of riches, and friends, and lands, and life for the profeſsion of the Goſpel. Afterward, when the Tempeſts of perſecutions were ſomewhat alay'd, and the skie began to clear up, the neceſsity of actual relinquiſhing of all things ceaſt, Chriſtians might then ſecurely hold life and lands, and whatſoever was their own, yet that it might appear unto the world, that the reſolution of Chriſtian men was the ſame as in times of diſtreſs and want, ſo likewiſe in time of peace and ſecurity, it pleaſed God to raiſe up many excellent men, as well of the Laity, as of the Clergy, who without conſtraint, voluntarily, and of themſelves, made liberal diſtribution of all they had; left their means and their friends, and betook themſelves to deſerts and ſolitary places, wholy giving themſelves over to meditation, to prayer, to faſting, to all ſeverity and rigidneſs of life, what opinion our times hath of theſe, I cannot eaſily pronounce: thus much I know ſafely may be ſaid, that when this cuſtome was in its primitive purity, there was no one thing more

more behoofful to the Church. It was the Seminary and nurſery of the Fathers, and of all the famous Ornaments of the Church. Thoſe two things which afterwards in the decay and ruine of this diſcipline, the Church ſought to eſtabliſh by *Decrees* and *Conſtitutions*, namely to eſtrange her Prieſts from the world and bind them to ſingle life, were the neceſſary effects of this manner of living, for when from their childhood they had utterly ſequeſtred themſelves from the world and long practiſed the contempt of it: when by chaſtiſing their body and keeping it under with long faſting, they had killed the heat of youth, it was not ambition nor deſire of wealth, nor beauty of women that could withdraw them or ſway their affections.

That which afterwards was crept into the Church and bare the name of Monkery, had indeed nothing of it but the name, under pretence of poverty they ſeized into their poſſeſſion the wealth and riches of the world, they removed themſelves from barren ſoils into the fatteſt places of the land, from ſolitary deſarts into the moſt frequented cities: they turned their poor cottages into ſtately pallace, their true faſting into formalizing and partial abſtinence. So that inſtead of going forth they took the next courſe to come into the world: they left not the world for Chriſt, but under pretence of Chriſt they gain'd the world: ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῆς τύπον, ἀλλ' ἀφορμὴν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀξίαν ταύτην εἶναι νομίζοντες, as *Nazianzene* ſpeaks. One of their own, Saint *Jerome* by name, long ago complain'd of it. *Nonnulli ſunt diviores Monachi, quam fuerant ſeculares, & clerici qui poſſideant opes ſub paupere Chriſto, quas ſub fallaci & locuplete diabolo non habuerant ut ſuſpiret eos eccleſia divites: quos tenuit mundos ante mendicos.* But I forbear and come to commend unto you another kinde of going forth, neceſſary for all perſons, and for all times. There is a going forth in *act* and *execution*, requiſite only at ſometimes and upon ſome occaſions: there is a going forth *in will* and *affection*: this let the perſons be of what calling ſoever, and let the times be never ſo favourable, God requires at the hands of every one of us. We uſually indeed diſtinguiſh the times of the Church into times of peace, and times of perſecution: the truth is, to a true Chriſtian man the times are always the ſame. *Habet etiam*

etiam pax ſuos martyres, ſaith one: there is a martyrdome even in time of peace; for the practiſe of a Chriſtian man in the calmeſt times, in readineſs and reſolution muſt nothing differ from times of rage and fire. *Joſephus* writing of the Military exerciſes practiſed amongſt the Romans, reports that for ſeriouſneſs they diffred from a true battel only in this, *the battel was a bloody exerciſe, their exerciſe a bloodleſs battel*. Like unto this muſt be the Chriſtian exerciſe in times of peace, neither muſt there be any difference betwixt thoſe days of perſecution, and theſe of ours, but only this, *thoſe yeelded Martyrs with blood, ours without*. Let therefore every man throughly examine his own heart, whether upon ſuppoſal of times of tryal and perſecution, he can ſay with *David*, *My heart is ready*, whether he can ſay of his deareſt pledges, *all theſe have I counted dung for Chriſts ſake*, whether he finde in himſelf that he can, if need be, even lay down his life for his profeſſion. He that cannot do thus, what differs his faith from a temporary faith, or from hypocriſie? Mark, I beſeech you what I ſay, I will not affirm, I will only leave it to your Chriſtian diſcretion. A temporary faith, that is, a faith reſembled to the ſeed in the Goſpel, which being ſown on the ſtony ground, withered as ſoon as the ſun aroſe, a faith that fails as ſoon as it feels the heat of perſecution, can ſave no man. May we not with ſome reaſon think that the faith of many a one, who in time of peace ſeems to us, yea, and to himſelf too peradventure to dy poſſeſt of it, is yet notwithſtanding no better then a temporary faith, and therefore comes not ſo far as to ſave him that hath it? *Rufus* a certain Philoſopher whenſoever any Scholars were brought unto him to receive education under him, was wont to uſe all poſſible force of argument to diſwade them from it: if nothing could prevail with them but needs they will be his hearers, this their pertinacy he took for a ſure token of a mind throughly ſetled, & led as it were by inſtinct to their ſtudies. If God ſhould uſe this method to try who are his, and bring on us thoſe Temptations, which would make the man of temporary faith to ſhrink: think we that all thoſe who in theſe times of peace have born the name of Chriſt unto their graves, would have born unto the rack, unto the ſword, unto the fire? Indeed to man who knows not the thoughts of his friend

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ſome trials ſometimes are very neceſſary. But he that knew and foretold *David* what the reſolution of the men of *Keilah* would be, if *Saul* came to them, knows likewiſe what the reſolution of every one of us would be if a fiery trial ſhould appear. Who knows therefore whether God hath numbred out the Crowns of life, according to the number of their ſouls, who he foreknew would in the midſt of all Temptations and trialls continue unto the end? for what difference is there betwixt the faith that fails upon occaſion, or that would fail if occaſion were offred? for the actual failing of faith is not that that makes it temporary, it is only that wch detects it, wch bewrays it unto us to be ſo. The faith therefore of that man which would have *ſunk as faſt as Peter did*, if tempeſts had ariſen, notwithſtanding that through the peace of the Church he dies poſſeſt of, is no better then a temporary, and cometh ſhort of a ſaving faith. *Durus ſermo*, it as a hard ſpeech ſome man may ſay: but let him that thinks thus, recount with himſelf that *Dura via*, it is is a hard way that leads to life. Beloved, deceive not your ſelves: heaven never was, nor will be gotten without Martyrdom: In a word my Brethren try therefore your ſelves, whether you have in you true reſolution, ſummon up your thoughts, ſurveigh every path in which your affections are wont to tread: ſee whether you are prepared to leave all for Chriſt. If you find in your ſelves but one affection looking back to *Sodom*, to the things of this life, remember *Lots* wife, her caſe is yours, you are not yet ſufficiently provided for the day of battel.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Omnipotency.

Philip. 4. 13.

I can do all things, through Chriſt, that enableth or *that ſtrengtheneth me.*

FRom henceforth let all complaint concerning the frailty, and weakneſs of mans Nature, for ever ceaſe. For behold our weakneſs ſwallow'd up of ſtrength, and mân is become *Omnipotent. I can do all things,* ſaith my Apoſtle. The ſtrongeſt reaſon, which the ſubtileſt above all the beaſts of the field, could invent, to draw our firſt Parents from their allegeance, was this, *Ye ſhall be like Gods.* Our Saviour who is infinitely wiſer to recal us, then our adverſary was to ſeduce us, takes the ſame way to reſtore as he did to deſtroy, and uſes that for Phyſick, which the Devil gave for poyſon. Is this it, ſaith he, unto us, that hath drawn ye from me, that ye would be like unto Gods? why, then return again, and ye ſhall be like Gods, by a kinde of *Communicatio idiomatûm*, by imparting unto you ſuch excellencies, as are proper unto my

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self. *As I my self do all things*, so shall you likewise be enabled to *do all things through me*. *Falso queritur de Naturâ suâ Genus humanum, quod imbecillis sit.* It was the observation of the Heathen Historian, that it is an error in men, thus to complain of the infirmities, and weakness of their Nature. For man indeed is a creature of great strength, and if at any time, he finde himself weak, it is through his fault, not through his nature. But he that shall take into consideration these words of my Text, shall farre better then any natural man, be able to perceive, that man hath no cause to complain of his weakness. Φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν τῇ τῇ πολεὶ πεφσεῖναι ταῦτα μέντοι τὲς θέυς ἀνὶ' ἀν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμαρτητ', ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν, saith *Aristophanes*. It was a tale that passed among some of the Heathen, that *Vulcan* offended with the men of *Athens*, told them that they should be but fools: but *Pallas* that favour'd them, told them they should be fools indeed, but folly should never hurt them. Beloved our case is like to that of the men of *Athens*, *Vulcan* the *Devil* hath made us fools, and weak, and so we are indeed of our selves: but the Son of God, the true *Pallas*, the wisdome of the Father hath given us this gift, that our weakness, shall never hurt us. For look what strength we lost in *Adam*, that with infinite advantage is suppli'd in Christ. It was the Parable of *Iphicrates*, that an *Army* of *Harts*, with a *Lyon* to their Captain, would be able to vanquish an armie of Lyons, if their captain were but an Hart. Beloved, were mankinde indeed but an army of Harts, were we *Hinnuleo similes*, like unto the fearful *Hinde*, upon the Mountains, that starts at every leaf that shakes: yet through Christ, that strengtheneth us, having the Lyon of the tribe of *Judah* for our Captain, and Leader, we shall be able to vanquish all that force; which the Lyon that goeth up and down seeking *whom he may devoure*, is able to bring against us. Indeed we do many times sadly bemoan our case, and much rue the loss, which through the rechlesness of our first parents hath befallen us; Yet let us chear up our selves, our fear is greater then our hurt: as *Elkanah* speaks unto *Hannah* in the first of *Samuel*. *Why weepest thou? Am not I better unto thee then ten Sons.* So will we comfort our selves in the like manner. Let us sorrow no more for

our loſs in *Adam.* For is not *Chriſt ten fold* better unto us, then all the good of *Paradiſe. The Mulbery tree indeed is broken down, but it is built up again with Cedar.* The loſs of that portion of ſtrength, wherewith our Nature was originally endued, is made up with fulneſs of power in Chriſt; It is paſt that concluſion of *Zeba* and *Zalmana* unto *Gideon*, in the Book of *Judges*, *As the man is, ſo is his ſtrength*; for now Beloved, *as is God ſo is our ſtrength.* Wherefore as St. *Ambroſe* ſpake of *Peters* fall: *Non mihi obfuit quod negavit Petrus, immo profuit, quod emendavit:* So may we ſpeak of the fall of our firſt Parents, it hurts not us that *Adam* fell; nay our ſtrength and glory is much improved, that by Chriſt we are redeemed. Our natural weakneſs be it never ſo great, with this ſupply from Chriſt, is far above all ſtrength, of which our Nature in its greaſt perfection was capable. If we ſurvey the particulars of that weakneſs, which we drew from the loines of our firſt parents, we ſhall finde the chiefeſt part of it to be in the loſs of immortality. For as for the loſs of that pleaſant place, the blindneſs of underſtanding, and perverſeneſs of will, being ſuppos'd to betide us immediately upon the fall, theſe ſeem weakneſſes far inferior to our mortality. For, God forbidding us the fruit of the tree of knowledg, & letting down the penalty that ſhould enſue, making choice (as it is moſt likely) of the fearfulleſt judgement, and what he ſaw in his wiſdome, was moſt likely to awe us, threatens neither blindneſs of underſtanding, nor crookedneſs of Nature, but tells us, *What day ye eat of it, ye ſhall die.* Yet ſee beloved, with how great ſtrength this mortal weakneſs is repair'd: For thus to be able to encounter with death the fearfulleſt of all Gods curſes, and through Chriſt to overcome it, as all true Chriſtians do, to turn the greateſt curſe into the greateſt bleſſing, is more then *immortality.*

Si non erraſſet, fecerat ille minus. Had not man been thus weak, he had never been thus ſtrong. Again, on the contrary, let us conceive unto the utmoſt, what our ſtrength might be in our firſt eſtate, let us raiſe our conceit unto the higheſt note we can reach, yet ſhall we never finde it to be greater, then what here is expreſt in my Text. For greater ability, then power to

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do all things, is not imaginable, *I can do all things.* Beloved, theſe words are *Anakims*, they beſeem not the mouth of a man of ordinary ſtrength. He that hath right unto them, muſt be one of the race of the Giants at leaſt, for he ſaith not ſimply, πάντα δύναμαι, I can, though peradventure with ſome difficulty, hardly with much labour, and pains, but he ſaith πάντα ἰσχύω; I can with eaſe, I have valour and ſtrength to do them. I ask then firſt as the *Eunuch* doth in the *Acts*: of whom ſpeaks our Apoſtle this, of himſelf or of ſome other man? I anſwer both of himſelf, and all other Chriſtians; For every Chriſtian man by reading it as he ought, makes it his own, for in reading it as he ought, he reads it with the ſame ſpirit, with which St. *Paul* wrote it. Wherefore as St. *Paul* ſome where records of himſelf, that he was not found inferiour to the chief *Apoſtles*, ſo is it true that the meaneſt Chriſtian that hears me this day, in all that is contained in my Text, is parallel'd, is nothing inferiour unto St. *Paul*, unto the chief Apoſtles. What a comfort then is this unto the *brother of low degree*, when he conſiders with himſelf, that how mean ſoever he may ſeem to be, either in the Church or common weal, yet notwithſtanding in ſo great a priviledge, as is this omnipotent power of doing all things; he is equal unto *Peter*, unto *Paul*, the greateſt *Peers of the Church*. If then the weakneſs of Chriſtians be ſo ſtrong, as to deſerve the name of *Almightineſs*, what name, what title doth the ſtrength of a Chriſtian deſerve to bear?

Secondly, I ask what meaning hath this word ἰσχύω, this *can do in my Text*? I anſwer very large: firſt, though it be rendred by this word doing, yet it comprehends ſufferings too; for *poſſum*: *valeo*, *I can*, is as well to ſuffer as to do, and that our bleſſed Apoſtle amongſt other things ſo meant it, is apparant by the words foregoing my text. And here is the firſt part of a Chriſtians omnipotency: his patience is infinite, it *ſuffers all things*. Never any contumely, never any loſs, never any ſmart ſo great, as could weary out Chriſtian patience. *Talia* (ſaith *Tertullian*,) *tantaque documenta, quorum magnitudo penes nationes detractatio fidei eſt, penes nos vero, ratio, & ſtructio.* Such examples, ſuch precepts, have we of Chriſtian patience, as that with infidels they ſeem incredible, and call in queſtion the truth of our profeſſion;

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but with us they are the ground and foundation of faith. God himself did never yet trie the utmost of a Christians patience: neither hath he created any object, that is able to equal it, yet he seems for our instruction to have gone about to trie, what might have been done: he commanded *Abraham* to sacrifice his dear and only son. *Tam grave præceptum, quod nec Deo perfici placebat, patienter et audivit, & si deus voluisset, implesset,* saith *Tertullian.* So heavy was the command, that God himself lik'd not it should be acted, yet *Abraham* heard it patiently, and had fulfilled it, if God would have given him leave. What should I speak of poverty, of disease, of the sword, of fire, of death it self, διὰ ζημιῶμαι, saith *Gorduis* the Martyr in St. *Basil,* μὴ δυνάμενος ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν. O at what a loss I am, saith he, that I can die but once for my Saviour. Take the greatest instance of Gods fury and wrath, even the pains laid up in Hell for the sinner, and we shall finde that there have been Christians, who for the glory of God, would gladly have endured them. St. *Paul* is the man amongst all the Saints of God, the greatest and worthiest example of this wonderful strength, of this omnipotency of a Christian man. What evil is imaginable, which he did not either indeed, or at least in will, and affection undergo? *Omnem patientiæ speciem adversus omnem diaboli vim expunxit,* ἐκκαίομαι γῶ, I am on fire saith Saint *Chrysostome,* when I speak of St. *Paul,* and indeed whom would it not inflame, to read that admirable *Synopsis* and brief of his sufferings registred in the second of the *Corinthians,* at the Eleventh Chapter. *In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft,* and could he do more? Yes, he could; *Sed ubi historiam præstare non potuit, votum attulit.* Hitherto he reports historically what was done, and as if that were not enough, he tells us what he would have done, and that his patience was able even gladly to have encountred Hell it self, ηὐχόμην, saith he in the ninth of the *Romans,* I have prayed unto God, I have beg'd it at his hands, as a favour, that for the increase of his glory through the Salvation of *Israel* my Kinsmen, according to the flesh, I might become a cast-away, and endure the pains of eternal fire. *Tertullian* considering the wonderful

derful patience of our Saviour upon his crosse; thinks that if there had bin no other argument to prove him to be God, yet this alone had been sufficient. *Hanc vel maximè, Pharisæi Dominum agnoscere debuistis: patientiam hujusmodi nemo hominum perpetraret.* In like manner may we truly say were there no other argument to prove that Christ doth dwell in us, doth mightily strengthen and inable us, yet this wonderful measure of patience in so finite a creature, could never subsist, if God were not in us of a truth.

Again ἰσχύω, this word of doing here in my text, signifies not only sufferings, and patience, this were to make a Christian but a kinde of Stone: A Christian hath not only a Buckler to resist, but he must have a sword to strike. Wherefore this word of doing, must signifie yet further, some action and life; And so indeed it doth; For it notes unto us the most glorious and eminent kinde of Christian action, *Victory* and *Conquest*; and when my Apostle here saith, *I can do all things*, his meaning is, *I can overcome and conquer all things.* And here is the second and most glorious part of *Christian Omnipotency*; Never was any true Christian overcome or can he; *For look how much he yields unto his enemy, so much he fails of his profession and title.* *David* complains of *Joab* and his *Brethren*; *These sons of Zeruiah are too strong for me.* But, Beloved, a Christian man *findes none of these sons of Zeruiah*, whom he needs to fear, or of *whom he needs to complain.* For as *Aristole* tells us that a magnanimous man is he, ᾧ οὐδὲν μέγα, who thinks nothing great, but conceits all things as inferior to himself: so may we define a true Christian to be such a one as to whom nothing is dreadful, in whose eye nothing under God carries any shew of Greatness, S. *Paul* hath left us a Catalogue in the end of the eight to the Romans, of all the forces, outward and inward, bodily and ghostly, that can be mustred against us, life, death, Angels, principalities, powers, things present, things to come, heighth, depth, any creature imaginable and pronounces of them, that in all these *we are Conquerors*, *Conquerors* is too mean a word ὑπερνικῶμεν, we are more then Conquerors, μετ' εὐκολίας ἁπάσης ἄνευ πόνων, καὶ ἱδρώτων, saith Saint *Chrysostome*, we conquer them with ease, without any pains

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or ſweat? *Paucas victoria dextras——exigit*, we ſhall not need to bring forth againſt them all our forces: a ſmall part of them will be ſufficient to gain the day; and not only overcome them, but turn them to our benefit and behoof. For ſin is like unto *Sampſons* Lyon: it comes upon us with open mouth to devour us; but when we have ſlain it, we ſhall finde *honey* in the belly of it, wonderful therefore is the power of a Chriſtian, who not onely overcomes and Conquers, and kills the viper, but like the skilful *Apothecary* makes Antidote, and Triacle of him. Indeed our Adverſaries ſeem to be very great. *S. Paul* calls them by wonderful names, as if he meant to affright us: *powers*, *principalities*, *βάθη*, depths, *the Prince that ruleth in the Air*, *the God of this world*, and what not? Yet notwithſtanding as one ſpeaks in Livie of the *Macedonian* war, as I remember: *non quàm magni nominis bellum eſt, tam difficilem exiſtimaveritis victoriam*; we muſt not think there will be any doubt of the Victory, becauſe it is a war of great name, and noiſe; For me thinks, I diſcover in our Apoſtle, when he uſes theſe ſtrange aſtoniſhing words, a ſpiritual ſtratagem: by which to ſtir us up, and make us ſtand upon our guard, he makes the largeſt report of our enemies forces. We read that one of the *Roman* Captains, perceiving his Souldiers unneceſſarily to faint draws out letters before them, and reads the news of that *which never was*, of, I know not what Kings with Armies and multitude coming forthwith againſt them, which art of his did much avail him to gain the victory; becauſe it made the Souldiers to recollect themſelves, and fight withal their might. Beloved, I may not think, that the Apoſtle in making this report of our enemies forces, relates that which is not, but this, I think, I may ſafely ſay that he makes the moſt of that which is; For it can never hurt us to take our enemie, to be as ſtrong as he is; or peradventure ſtronger, for this is a very profitable error, it makes us more wary, and provide our ſelves the better. But to ſlight, and contemn our enemy, to erre on the contrary ſide, and think him to be weaker then he is, this hath cauſed many an overthrow. It is a rule which *Vigetius* gives us: *Difficilimè vincitur, qui verè poteſt de ſuis, & de adverſarii copiis judicare.* It is an hard matter

matter to overcome him that truly knoweth his own strength, and the strength of his adversary. And here, beloved, is the error of most Christians; we do not know of what strength we are. We look upon this body of ours, and suppose that in so weak and faint a subject there cannot subsist so great strength, as we speak of; as if a man should prize the liquor by the baseness of the vessel in which it is. As divers *Landlords* have treasures hidden in their fields, which they know not of, so many of us have this treasure of omnipotency in us, but we care not to discover it, & to know it, did we but perfectly know our own strength and would we but compare it with the strength of our enemies: we should plainly discover, that we have such infinite advantage above them, that our conquest may seem not to be so great, as is pretended. For the greater the advantages are, the glory of the victory is the less: and that which makes a conquest great, is not so much the greatness of him that Conquers, as the strength and greatness of him that is overthrown, Now what proportion is there betwixt the strength of God himself dwelling in us, and all the strength of Heaven, Earth, and Hell besides, how then can we count this spiritual war so fearful, which is waged upon so unequal termes. *In quo si modo congressus cum hoste sis, viceris*, in which if we but give the onset, we are sure to gain the victory? *restitisse vicisse est*; To resist is to conquer for so saith the Apostle, *Resist the Devil and he shall flie from you.* There was never yet any Christian conquer'd, that could not: and in this war not to yield the victory, is to get it. As therefore one spake of *Alexanders* expedition into *India*: *Benè ausus est vana contemnere*: the matter was not much, which he did, the greatest thing in it was, that he durst do it: so considering our strength, and the weakness of our adversaries, we may without prejudice speak even of the worthiest Souldiers, that ever fought these Spiritual Battels, *Benè ausi sunt vana contemnere.* The greatest thing that we can admire in them is, that they durst do it. Would we but a little examine the forces of our adversaries, we should quickly finde it to be as I have said; When *Alcibiades* a young Gentleman of *Athens* was afraid to speak before the multitude, *Socrates* to put him in heart, asks him; Fear you saith he, *such a one?* and names one of the *multitude to him*;

No saith *Alcibiades*, he is but a *Tradesman*; Fear you such a one, saith he, and *names a second*; No for he is but a *Pesant*: or such a one, and *names a third?* No, for he is but an ordinary *Gentleman?* Now saith he, of such as these doth the whole multitude consist: and by this device, he encouraged *Alcibiades* to speak: He that shall fear to encounter the multitude, and army of Spiritual adversaries which are ready to set themselves against him: Let him do by himself as *Socrates* did by *Alcibiades*. Let him sit down and consider with himself his enemies one by one, and he shall quickly discover their weakness, *Primi in præliis vincantur oculi*. Its a saying that the first thing that is overcome in a Souldier, is his *eye*, while he judges of his enemy, by his multitude, and provision, rather then by his strength. Beloved, if we judge not of our adversary in gross, and as it were by the eye: we shall easily see, that we shall not need to do as the *King in the Gospel doth*, send to his enemy with conditions of peace; For there is no treaty of Peace to be had with these, *Had Zimri peace that slew his Master*, saith the Scripture: *And there is no peace unto the wicked saith my God*. Not only *Zimri* and the wicked but no Christian hath or can have peace, he must be always as fighting and alwayes conquering: Let us single out some one of this army and let us examine his strength, Is it *sin* doth so much affright us? I make choice of it, because it is the dreadfullest enemy that a Christian hath: Let us a little consider its strength and we shall quickly see, there is no such need to fear it. Sins are of two sorts, either great and capital, or small and ordinary sins. I know it were a paradox in nature to tell you that the greatest and the mightiest things are of least force. Yet this is true in the case we speak of: the greatest things are the weakest. Your own experience tells you that rapes, and murthers, parricide, poysoning, treason and the rest of that rabble of arch sins, are the sins of the fewest, and that they have no strength at all but upon the weakest men. For doubtless if they were the strongest, they would reign with greatest latitude, they would be the commonest, they would be the sins of the most: But wandring thoughts, idle words, petty lusts, inconsiderate wrath, immoderate love to the things of the world, and the rest of that swarm

ſwarm of ordinary ſins, theſe are they that have largeſt extent and Dominion, and ſome of theſe, or all of theſe, more or leſs prevail with every man. As the Magicians in *Exodus*, when they ſaw not the power of God in the Serpents, in the blood in the frogs; at the coming of the plague of the Lice preſently cryed *Digitus Dei hic eſt*; this is the finger of God: ſo I know not how it comes to paſs, though we ſee and confeſs that in thoſe great and hainous crimes, the Devil hath leaſt power, yet at the comming of Lice, of the rout of ſmaller and ordinary ſins, we preſently yield our ſelves captives and cry out *Digitus Diaboli* the ſtrength of the Devil is in theſe, as if we were like unto that fabulous *rack* in *Plinie*, which if a man thruſt at with his whole body, he could not move it, yet a man might ſhake it, with one of his fingers. Now what an error is it in us Chriſtians, when we ſee the principal and captain ſins ſo eaſily vanquiſht, to think the common Souldier or leſſer ſort invincible? For certainly if the greateſt ſins, be the weakeſt, the leſſer cannot be very ſtrong; Secondly is it *Original corruption* that doth ſo much affright us. Let us conſider this a little, and ſee what great cauſe we have to fear it. And firſt beloved let us take heed that we ſeem not σκιαμαχεῖν, to fight with our own fanſie, and not ſo much to finde, as to fain an enemy: Miſtake me not, I beſeech you, I ſpeak not this as doubting that we drew any natural infection from the loins of our Parents: but granting this, I take it to be impoſſible to judge of what ſtrength it is, and deny that it is any ſuch cauſe why we ſhould take it to be ſo ſtrong, as that we ſhould ſtand in fear to encounter it, and overcome it: For we can never come to diſcover, how far our nature is neceſſarily weak. For whileſt we are in our infancy, and as yet not altred a *puris naturalibus* from that which God and nature made us, none of us underſtand our ſelves: and ere we can come to be of years to be able to diſcover it, or define any thing concerning the nature of it, cuſtom, or education either good, hath much abated, or evil, hath much improved the force of it; ſo that for any thing we know the ſtrength of it may be much leſs then we ſuppoſe, and that it is but a fear that makes it ſeem ſo great, αἱ δειλαὶ φύσεις πλείονα τῶν ὄντων ἀναπλάττειν δύνανται,

saith *Chrysostome*, It is the nature of timerous and fearful men evermore to be framing to themselves causeless fears, I confess, it is a strange thing, and it hath many times much amazed me, to see how ripe to sin many children are, in their young and tender years: and ere they understand what the name of Sin and evil means, they are unexpectedly and no man knows by what means, wonderfully prompt and witty to villany, and wickedness; as if they had *gone to school to it in their mothers womb.* I know not to what cause to impute this thing, but I verily suppose, I might quit original sin from the guilt of it: For it is a ruled case, and concluded by the general consent of the Schools, that original sin is alike in all: and S. *Paul* seems to me to speak to that purpose, when he saith, that God hath alike concluded all under sin, and *that all are alike deprived of the glory of God.* Were therefore Original sin the cause of this strange exorbitancy in some young children, they should all be so: a thing which our own experience teaches us to be false: For we see many times even in young children *many good and gracious things*, which being followed with good education, must needs come to excellent effect, *In pueris elucet spes plurimorum*, saith *Quintilian*, *quæ ubi emoritur ætate, manifestum est, non defeciſſe naturam sed curam*: In children many times an hope of excellent things appears, which in riper age for want of cherishing, fades and withers away: A certain sign that nature is not so weak as Parents and Tutors are negligent: whence then comes this difference? Certainly not from our Nature, which is one in all: but from some other cause. As for Original sin, of what strength it is I will not discuss: only thus much I will say there is none of us all, but is much more wicked, then the strength of any Primitive corruption can constrain. Again, let us take heed that we abuse not our selves, that we use not the names of original weakness, as a stale, or stalking-horse as a pretence to choak, and cover somewhat else: For oftentimes when evil education, wicked examples, long custome, and continuance in sin hath bred in us an habit, and necessity of sinning, presently Original sin, and the weaknes of mans nature bear the blame: *Ubi per segordiam, vires, tempus, ingenium, defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur,*

tur, When through sloath and idleness, luxurie and distemper, our time is lost, our bodies decay'd, our wits dull'd, we cast all the fault on the weakness of our nature; That *Law of sin in our members*, of which S. *Paul* spake, and which some take to be original corruption; S. *Austine* once pronounced, of it (whether he meant to stand to it, I know not, but so he once pronounced of it) *Lex peccati est violentia consuetudinis*; *That Law of sin*, that carries us against our wills, to sin, is nothing else, but the force and violence of long custome and continuance in sin: I know, that by the error of our first Parents the Devil hath blinded, and bound us more then ever the Philistines did *Samson*. Yet this needs not to make us thus stand in fear of Original weakness: For blinde and bound as we are, let the Devil build never so strong, yet if our hair be grown, if Christ do strengthen us, we shall be able *Samson-like* to bear his strongest pillars, and pull down his house about his ears.

Thirdly, is it the *Devil* that we think so strong an adversary? Let us a little consider his strength; he may be considered either as an inward enemy, suggesting unto us sinful thoughts: or as an outward enemy, lying in wait to afflict us in body, in goods, or the like. First, against us inwardly, he hath no force of his own; From our selves it is, that he borrows this strength to overthrow us. In Paradice, he borrowed the Serpent to abuse us, but now every Man is that Serpent, by which himself is abused. For as *Hannibal* having overthrown the Romans took their armour and fought against them with their own weapons. So the Devil arms himself against us with our own strength, our senses, our will, our appetite: with these weapons, he fights against us, and uses us against our selves; Let us but recover our own again and the Devil will be disarm'd: Think you that the Devil is an immediate stickler in every sin that is committed? I know ye do. But take heed, least this be but an excuse to unload your faults upon the Devil, and to build them upon his back. For S. *Chrysostome* thought otherwise, ἐ γὰρ δὲ πάντα, αὐτὸς κατασκευάζει, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ, καὶ ἀπὸ μόνης γίνεται τῆς ναθείας τῆς ἡμετέρας. The Devils hand says he, is not in every fault, many are done meerly by our own carelessness ὁ ἀδεὴς κὰν μὴ

μὴ διάβολος ἢ βλάπτεται. A negligent careleſſe perſon ſins, though the Devill never tempt him. Let the truth of this lie where it will, I think I may ſafely ſpeak thus much, that if we would but ſhut up our wills and uſe that grace of God which is offered. I doubt not but a great part of this ſuggeſting power of his, would fall to nothing: as for that other force of his, by which he lies in wait to annoy us outwardly, why ſhould we ſo dread that? Are there not more with us both in multitude and ſtrength to preſerve us? *The Angel of the Lord* (ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*) *pitches his tents round about thoſe that fear him, to deliver them.* And the Apoſtle aſſures us, that the *Angels are miniſtring Spirits, ſent forth for thoſe, that ſhall be heirs of Salvation*; ſhall we think, that the ſtrength of thoſe to preſerve, is leſs then that of the evil Angels to deſtroy? One *Garcæus* writing upon the Meteors, told me long ſince, that whereas many times before great tempeſts, there is wont to be heard in the aire above us great noiſe, and ruſhing, the cauſe of this was the banding of good, and evil Angels, the one ſtriving to annoy us with tempeſts, the other ſtriving to preſerve us from the danger of it. And I doubt not, but as about *Moſes* body, ſo about every faithful perſon, theſe do contend, the one to hazzard, the other to deliver. Yea, but the Devil inſpires into us evil thoughts: well, and cannot good Angels inſpire good; they are all for any thing appears, by the law of their creation equal, and ſhall we think that God did give unto the Devil an inſpiring faculty to entangle, which he denyed to his good Angels to free us? Though good Angels could not inſpire good thoughts, yet God both can and doth. So that for any thing yet appears, we have no ſuch cauſe to ſtand in fear of the ſtrength of the Devil, either inwardly or outwardly. Thus have I examined the force of three of our principal enemies; I could proceed to examine other particulars of this armie of our adverſaries, the world, the fleſh, perſecutions, and the reſt, and make the like queſtion of them, as I have done of theſe, and ſo conclude as *Socrates* did to *Alcibiades*. If you have juſt cauſe to fear none of theſe, why ſhould you fear them all, ſince that of ſuch as theſe the whole knot of them conſiſts? But I muſt proceed to

ſearch

ſearch out yet another meaning of this word of *doing* in my text; and that briefly.

Thirdly, therefore we may take this word of *doing* in its largeſt ſenſe: as if the Apoſtle had meant literally, that indeed a Chriſtian can do all things, that he had ſuch a power and command over the creature, as that he could do with it, what he liſt. In which ſenſe it is likewiſe true, though with ſome limitation, and here is the third degree of our *Chriſtian Omnipotency*. In the former parts the omnipotence of a Chriſtian ſuffered no reſtraint: it was illimited, unconfin'd. He is abſolutely omnipotent in his patience, and can ſuffer all things: he is likewiſe abſolutely omnipotent in battel, and can conquer all his enemies But in this third ſignification, his power ſeems to be ſtreightned: for how many things are there which no Chriſtian man can do? Yet is he ſo ſtreightned, as that his Omnipotency ſuffers not. We are taught in the Schools, though God be omnipotent, yet many things may be named, which he cannot do: he cannot denie himſelf, he cannot lie, he cannot ſin, he cannot die. Yet may we not conclude, that therefore God is not Omnipotent; for therefore is he the more omnipotent, becauſe he cannot do theſe things: for ability to do theſe things, is imperfection, and weakneſs, but in God we muſt conceive nothing but what argues perfection and ſtrength. In ſome degree we may apply this unto our ſelves, in things that tend to Chriſtian perfection, every chriſtian is omnipotent; he cannot raiſe the dead, turn water into wine, ſpeak with tongues. True, but if he could, had he for this any further degree of perfection above other Chriſtians? Our Saviour ſeems to denie it. *For many* (ſaith he) *at that day ſhall come and ſay, have we not caſt out Devils, and wrought miracles in thy name, and he will anſwer them, away, I know you not.* Beloved, our Saviour loves not to ſleight any part of Chriſtian perfection: yet my meaning is not to deny unto a chriſtian the power of doing miracles, for every chriſtian man doth every day greater miracles, then yet I have ſpoken of. But beloved, in this matter of miracles, we do much abuſe our ſelves; for why? Seems it unto us a greater miracle, that our Saviour once turn'd a little water into wine, then every

year

year in so many Vine-trees to turn that into wine in the branches, which being received at the root was meer water; or why was it more wonderfull for him once to feed five thousands with five Loaves: then every year to feed the whole world, by the strange multiplication of a few seeds cast into the ground? After the same manner do we by the dayly actions of christian men. For why is it a greater miracle to raise the dead, then for every man to raise himself from the death of sin, to the life of righteousness? Why seems it more miraculous to open the eyes of him that was born blinde, then for every one of us to open the eyes of his understanding, which by reason of original corruption was born blinde. For by the same finger, by the same power of God, by which the Apostles wrought these miracles, doth every christian man do this: and without this finger, it is as impossible for us to do this, as for the Apostles to do the miracles they did, without the assistance of the extraordinary power of Christ. So that hitherto in nothing are we found inferiour unto the chief Apostles: what if there be some things we cannot do? Shall this prejudice our power? It is a saying in *Quintilian oportet Grammaticum quædam ignorare.* It must not impeach the learning of a good *Grammarian* to be ignorant of some thing: for there are many unnecessary quillets, and quirks in Grammar, of which to purchase the knowledge, were but loss of labour and time. Beloved, in the like manner may we speak of our selves. *Oportet Christianum quædam non posse,* it must not disparage the power of a Christian, that he cannot do some things. For in regard of the height, and excellency of his profession, these inferiour things, which he cannot do, they are nought else but Grammar quirks, and to be ambitious to do them, were but a nice, minute, and over-superstitious diligence. And yet a christian if he list, may challenge this power, that he *can do all things*; yea, even such things as he cannot do. Saint *Austine* answering a question made unto him, why the gift of tongues was ceased in the *Church*, and no man spake with that variety of languages, which divers had in the Primitive times: wittily tells us, *that every one may justly claim unto himself that miraculous gift of tongues.* For since the Church, which is the body

dy of Christ, of which we are but members, is far and wide dispersed over the earth, and is in sundry nations, which use sundry languages, every one of us, may well be said to speak with divers tongues; because in that which is done by the whole, or by any part of it, every part may claim his share. Beloved, how much more by this reason, may every one of us, lay a far directer claim to an absolute power of doing all things, even in its largest extent, since I say not some inferiour member, but Christ, who is our head, hath this power truly resident in him. Howsoever therefore in each member, it seems to be but partial, yet in our head it is at full; and every one of us may assume to our selves this power of *doing all things*, because we are subordinate members unto that head, which *can do all things*, but I must leave this, and go on to the remainder of my Text.

Hitherto I have spoken first of the person, I. Secondly, of his power *can do*, I should by order of the words proceed in the third place, unto the subject or object of this power pointed out unto us in this word πάντα *all things*. But the subject of this Christian power hath been so necessarily wrapped up, and tyed together with the power; that for the opening of it, I have been constrain'd to exemplifie at large, both what this πάντα, this *all things* is, and how far it doth extend: so that to enter upon it a new, were but to trouble you with repetition of what is already sufficiently opened. I will go on therefore unto the second general of my Text. For here me thinks that question might me asked, which *Dalilah* asked of *Sampson*: *Tell me I pray thee, wherein this great strength lieth. Behold*, beloved it is expressed in the last words, *through Christ that strengtheneth.*

This is as I told you that hair, wherein that admirable strength of a Christian doth reside. I confess, I have hitherto spoken of wonderful things, and hardly to be credited; wherefore μὴ τὸ παράδοξον ὑποχήσεως ἄπιστον δοκῇ; least the strangeness of the argument call my credit into question. Loe here I present unto you the ground of all this: A small matter sometimes seems wonderful till the cause of it be discovered, but as soon as we know the cause, we cease to marvel: how strong soever my

discourse of Christian Omnipotency doth seem, yet look but upon this cause, and now nothing shall seem incredible. For to doubt of the omnipotency of a Christian, is to question the power of Christ himself. As the Queen of *Sheba* told King *Solomon*, that she had heard great things of him in her own countrey, but now she saw truth did go beyond report, so, beloved, he that travels in the first part of my Text, and wonders at the strong report of a Christian mans power. Let him come to the second part, to our *Solomon*, to him that is greater then *Solomon*, to *Christ*, and he shall finde that the truth is greater then the fame of it; for if he that was possest of the evil spirit in the Gospel, was so strong, that he being bound with chains and fetters, he brake them all: of what strength must he be then, whom it pleaseth Christ to enable, or what chains or fetters shall be put upon him, which he will not break? From this doctrine therefore that Christ is he, that doth thus enable us, we learn two lessons, which are as it were two props to keep us upright, that we lean not either to the right hand, or to the left. First, not to be dejected or dismay'd, by reason of this outward weakness and baseness, in which we seem to be. Secondly, not to be puft up, upon opinion and conceit of that strength, and glory which is within us and unseen. For the first, for our own outward weakness, be it what it will, we cannot be more weak, more frail then *Gideons* Pitchers: now as in them their frailty was their strength, and by being broken they put to flight the army of the *Midianites*: so where it pleases Christ to work, that which seems weakness shall become strength, and turn to flight the strongest adversary, *Satis sibi copiarum cum Publio Decio, & nunquam nimium Hostium fore*, said one in *Livie*, we may apply this unto our selves: be we never so weak, yet Christ alone is army and forces enough, and with him, we can never have too many enemies. The flesh indeed is weak; for our Saviour tells us, yet this weakness of the flesh is no prejudice at all to the strength of a Christian; for though the flesh be weak, yet the spirit is strong, and so much our Saviour tells us too: and why then do we not follow the stronger part?

part? *Si spiritus carne fortior, quia generosior, nostra culpa infirmiora sectamur,* saith *Tertullian.* If the spirit be stronger then the flesh, what madness is it in us to make choice of, and follow the weaker side?

Nulla fides unquam miseros elegit amicos.

Which of you is so improvident, as in a faction, to make choice of that side, which he sees to be the weakest, and which he knows must fall. Again, this weakness of a Christian is only outward, within what he is, the words of my Text do sufficiently shew. *Socrates* outwardly was a man of deformed shape, but he was one of an excellent spirit: and therefore *Alcibiades* in *Plato* compares him to an *Apothecaries* box, which without had painted upon it, an *Ape* or a *Satyre*, or some deformed thing, but within was full of sweet and precious oyntment. Thus beloved it is with a Christian, whatsoever outward *deformity* he seems to have, howsoever he seems to be nothing but rags without, yet he is *totus purpureus*, all scarlet and glorious within: I have said, *ye are Gods*, saith the Scripture, the Magistrate is wont to ingrosse, and impropriate this Scripture to himself; because sitting in place of Authority, for execution of Justice, he carries some resemblance of God: but to whom can this Scripture better belong then to the Christian man? For the magistrate carries indeed some shew of God without, but many times within is full of corruption and weakness; the Christian carries a shew of weakness without; but within is full of God and Christ. The second thing which I told you, we learn't was a lesson teaching us, not to be puft up with opinion and conceit of our own inward strength and glory: for if any man, because of this, shall begin to think of himself, above what he ought. Let him know that he may say of his exceeding strength, no otherwise then the man in the book of *Kings*, spake, when his axe was fallen into the water, *Alas Master, it was but lent.* Those

that build houſes make *Anticks*, which ſeem to hold up the beams, whereas indeed as St. *Paul* tells the Olive branch; *Thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee*: So is it true in them, they bear not up the houſe, the houſe bears up them. Beloved, ſeem we never ſo ſtrong, yet we are but *Anticks*, the ſtrength, by which the houſe of Chriſt doth ſtand; is not ours, it is Chriſts, who by that power, by *which he is able to ſubdue all things to himſelf*, doth ſuſtain both himſelf and us.

FINIS.

Luke

Luke 18. 1.

And he ſpake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray and not to faint.

MY Text is like the Temple at *Hieruſalem*: It is the houſe of prayer, wherein we may learn many ſpecial points of the skill and practice of it. Now as that Temple had two parts; Firſt, the Forefront the porch, the walk before it; and ſecondly the Temple it ſelf: So have theſe words likewiſe two parts; Firſt, there are words which ſtand before like a porch or walk, and they are theſe, *And he ſpake a parable unto them*: Secondly, here are words like unto the Temple it ſelf: *That men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* If you pleaſe before we enter into the Temple, or ſpeak of theſe words, *That men ought always to pray*, Let us ſtay and entertain our ſelves a little in the porch, and ſee what matter of meditation it will yield; *And he ſpake a parable unto them*, &c. To inſtruct and teach the ignorant, no method no way ſo ſpeedy and effectual as by parables and Fables *Strabo* gives the reaſon of it φιλεῖ δήμων γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος προοίμιον δὲ τέτυ τὸ φιλόμυθον; For man is a creature natural deſirous

to

to know but it is according to the proverb, as the *Cat* deſires fiſh, loath to touch the water, loath to takes the pains to learn, knowledge is indeed a thing very pleaſant; but to learn is a thing harſh and tedious above all the things in the world; the book which Saint *John* eats in the tenth of the *Apocalyps* was in his mouth ſweet as hony but bitter in his belly. Beloved thoſe *Librorum helluones* ſtudents that like S. *John* eat up whole volums, theſe finde the contrary: For in the mouth in the peruſal, their books are harſh and unpleaſant; but in the ſtomach when they are underſtood, and digeſted then are they delightful and pleaſurable: yet one thing by the providence of God our nature hath which makes this rough way to learn more plain and eaſie: it is φιλόμυθον, common experience ſhews, we are all very deſirous to hear narrations and reports either pleaſant or ſtrange: Wiſe men therefore and God himſelf which is wiſer then men being to train up mankinde *Genus indocile*, a ſubject dull of hearing, and hardly drawn to learn, have from time to time wrought upon this humor, upon this part of our diſpoſition and mitigated, ſugred as it were the unpleaſantneſs of a difficult, and hard leſſon with the ſweetnes of ſome delightful parable or fable: And S. *Chryſoſtome* tells us of a Phyſician, who finding his patient to abhor Phyſick, but infinitely long for wine, heating an earthen cup in the fire, and quenching it in wine, put his potion therein, that ſo the ſick perſon being deceived with the ſmell of wine, might unawares drink of the Phyſick: or that I may better draw my compariſon from Scripture, as when *Jacob* meant to be welcome to his father *Iſaack*, he put on his brother *Eſau*'s apparel and ſo got acceſs: So beloved, wiſemen when they meant either to inſtruct the ignorant, or to reprove offenders to procure their welcome, and make their way more paſſable, have been wont for the moſt part, as it were to clothe their leſſon or reproof in a parable, or to ſerve it in a diſh ſavouring of wine that ſo *Jacob* might be admitted uuder *Eſau*'s coat, that the ſmell of the pleaſantneſs of wine might draw down the wholſomneſs of Phyſick: Great and ſingular have been thoſe effects which this kinde of teaching by parables hath wrought in men, by informing their ignorance, reproving their error, working pa-

tience

tience of reproof; opening the underſtanding, moving the affections and other ſoveraign commodities, ὃ μόνον οἱ ποιηταὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, καὶ νομοθέται τῷ χρησίμῳ χάριν τὰς μύθους ἐνεδέξαντο. And for this cauſe not only our Poets, and profane Authors, but whole cities, and men which gave Laws to Common-wealths have made eſpecial choice of this courſe; Yea, our Saviour Chriſt himſelf hath filled the Goſpels with parables, made them like a Divine and Chriſtian *Æſop's Fables*, becauſe he found it to be exceeding profitable. For firſt of all it is the plaineſt and moſt familiar way, and above all other ſtoops to the capacity of the learner, as being drawn either from trees, or beaſts, or from ſome ordinary common and known actions of men: As from a ſhepheard attending his flock, from an husbandman ſowing corn in his field, from a fiſher caſting his net into the Sea, from a woman putting leaven into her dough, or the like. So that in this reſpect a parable is like *Moſes* Tabernacle which outwardly was nothing but goats skins, or ſome ordinary ſtuff, but within it was ſilk, and purple and gold. And indeed ſince thoſe we teach are either children or ignorant perſons who are but children (ἰδιώτης γὰρ πᾶς καὶ ἀπαίδευτος ἱρόπον τινὰ παῖς ἐϛι, for every man in what he is ignorant is no better then a childe) that manner of information fits beſt, which is moſt eaſie and familiar: Again, a parable is a kinde of pattern and example expreſſing unto us what we heare; Now nothing doth more illuſtrate and explain then inſtance and example ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, in a parable as it were upon a ſtage, the thing that we are taught is in a manner acted, and ſet forth before our eyes. Secondly, parables do not only by their plaineſs open the underſtanding but they work upon the affections, and breed delight of hearing by reaſon of that facetenes and wittineſs which is many times found in them, by reaſon of which they inſinuate themſelves, and creep into us, and ere we are aware work that end for which they were delivered: who is not much moved with that parable of *Jotham* in the book of Judges, *that the trees went forth to chuſe a king*, or that of *Menenius Agrippa* in Livie, that the parts of the body conſpired againſt the belly, by which the one ſhewed the wickedneſs of the men of *Sechem* againſt the

the ſons of *Gideon*, the other the folly of the common people in conſpiring againſt the *Senators* and noble-men. And no marvel beloved, if this facetenes of parables doth this work with men, ſince it ſeems to have had wonderful force with God himſelf. For when the *Canaanitiſh* woman in the Goſpel had long importun'd our Saviour in the behalf of her daughter, and our Saviour had anſwered her with that ſhort cutting and reproachful parable; *It is not meet to take the childrens bread and caſt it unto dogs*, ſhe facetely and wittily retorts and turns upon our Saviour his own parable. *Truth Lord*, ſaith ſhe, *yet dogs do eat the crums that fall from their maſters Table*: be it that I am but a dog: I require no more then is due to a dog: even the crums that fall from your table, with which ſpeech our Saviour was ſo far taken, as that he ſeems to have been ſtricken into a wonderment: for he preſently cries out, *O woman great is thy Faith.* Thirdly, there is one thing that this way of inſtruction by parable hath above all other kindes of teaching. It ſerves excellently for reproof; for man is a proud creature, impatient of plain and open check and reprehenſion: πολλάκις ἀπαλῆσαι δεῖν: many times no way of dealing with him, when he hath offended, but by deceiving him with wilineſs and craft, ὁ γὰρ ἐξ εὐθείας προσενεχθεὶς κακὰ μέγαλα τὸν ἓκ ἀπαλήθεντα εἰργάσατο: he that comes rudely and plainly to reprehend, doth many times more hurt then good. I ſpeak not this only in regard of miniſterial reprehenſion, uſed by the preacher of the word: but of all other: for to reprove offenders is a common duty, and belongs to every private man as well as to the Miniſter. St. *Auſtine* in his book *de civitate Dei*, handling the queſtion, why in common calamities the good do bear a part as well as the evil, amongſt many other reaſons gives this as a ſpecial one, that good men are not careful enough in reproving the errors of their offending brethren, but by connivency and ſilence in a manner partake in their ſins, and as it were by conſent, make them their own. It ſhall not be amiſs therefore, even for you of the Laity to hear ſomething concerning this art of *reprehenſion*, as a duty concerning you as well as the Preacher. For the wiſdome and gentleneſs of a Chriſtian is never better ſeen, then in reproving.

Now

Now one common error of reprehenders is their over-blunt, and plain manner of rebuking, *dum ſic objurgent quaſi oderint*, whileſt they reprove the vice, as if they hated the perſon, and upbraid rather then reprehend. By this our importunity we deſtroy more ſinners then we ſave. It is an excellent obſervation in St. *Chryſoſtome*, ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐπιδὰν ἀπερυθριάσαι βιασθῇ εἰς ἀναλγησίαν ἐκπίπτει, unſeaſonable and importunate reprehenders make offending perſons, *depudere* to ſteal their forehead, and to ſet a good face upon their fact, as the phraſe of the world is, and to ſeek out excuſes and Apologies for their ſinne. *Tully* tells us, that *Antonie* the Orator being to defend a perſon, who was accuſed of faction and ſedition, bent his wits to maintain ſedition was good, and not to be objected as a fault. That we force not our offending Brethren unto this degree of impudency, let us conſult with our charity; and know the quality and nature of the offender. Husbandmen tell us, that the young and tender branches of a Vine are not to be prun'd away with a knife, but gently pull'd away by hand. Beloved, before we reprove, let us know the condition of our brother, whether he be not like the young Vine ſoft and tender, and ſo to be cured rather with the hand, then with the knife: and if he be grown ſo hard, that he ſhall need the knife, we muſt not raſhly adventure of it, but know there is a skill likewiſe in uſing the knife; as *Ehud* in the book of *Judges*, when he went to kill *Eglon* carries not his Dagger in his hand, but comes unto him with a preſent, and had his Dagger girt privily under his garment, or as a skilful Phyſician of whom we read, being to heal an impoſtume, and finding the ſick perſon to be afraid of Lancing, privily wrap't up his *knife* in a *ſpunge*, with which whileſt he gently ſmoothed the place, he lanced it: ſo beloved, when we encounter our offending Brother, we muſt not openly carry the Dagger in our hand, for this were to defie our Brother: but we muſt wrap our knife in our ſpunge, and lance him whileſt we ſmooth him: and with all ſweetneſs, and gentleneſs of behaviour cure him; as *Eſay* the Prophet cur'd *Hezekias*, by laying a plaiſter of Figs upon the ſore. Men when they have offended are like unto fire, we muſt take heed how we come too near

them; and therefore as the *Cherubin* in the book of *Eſays* propheſie takes a cole from the Altar with the tongs: ſo when the prophets dealt with them, they did not rudely handle them with their hands; but they came upon them warily under parables, as it were with the *Cherubins* tongs. How could *Nathan* have come ſo near unto King *David*, and drawn from him an acknowledgement of his ſin, had he not come with the *Cherubins* tongs, and deceived him with a parable, or how ſhould the prophet made King *Ahab* ſee his error in letting go King *Benhadad*, if he had not as it were put a trick upon the King, and diſguiſed both himſelf and his ſpeech, and mask't his errand with the parable of him, who let go the priſoner that was committed to his charge. So that in this reſpect, if we would define a parable we muſt pronounce it to be *Pium fraudem* a civil or ſpiritual *Stratagem*, by which perſons who need inſtruction are honeſtly and piouſly beguiled for their own profit. No marvel therefore, if our Saviour Chriſt in his preaching doth every where drive upon parables. For being to deliver to us ſo many leſſons, ſo ſtrange, ſo uncouth, ſo hard to learn, it was meet he ſhould make choice of that method of teaching, which hath moſt likelihood to prevail and commend them unto us. The doctrine which our Saviour in my text labours to beat into us, is the continuing and perpetuating of our prayer and religious meditation. A leſſon hard to be attained, and therefore thrice he commends it unto us; once by example, twice by parable, both of them very effectual means to teach: by example of that importunate *Canaaniti∫h* woman in the 15. of Saint *Matthew*: by parable firſt in the 11. of *Luke*, of him that lying warm in his bed, and loath to riſe, yet at his Friends importunity gets up, and lends him bread: and ſecondly, by the parable of the unjuſt Judge here in my text.

But all this while I muſt not forget, that I am but in the πρόναος in the *Porch*, and entrance into the Temple, where to walk too long, were, if not to looſe, yet to abuſe my time. Let us now therefore enter into the temple it ſelf, and conſider the main words of my text. *That men ought always to pray, and not to faint*: which words have a double meaning. Firſt, there is *Sen-*

ſus

ſus quem faciunt; there is a ſenſe which the words themſelves yield as they lie. Secondly, *Senſus quo fiunt*, the ſenſe and meaning in which the Holy Ghoſt intended and ſpake them. If we look upon the ſenſe which the words themſelves do give; it ſeems we are adviſed by them to be like *Anna* the Propheteſs in the ſecond of *Luke*, who departed not from the temple, but ſerved God with faſting and prayer night and day. In all places, at all times, in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon, upon occaſion, upon no occaſion, perpetually without intermiſſion to pray. For thus the words do run, *that we ought alwayes to pray, and not to faint.* But if we look upon the ſenſe in which the Holy Ghoſt ſpake theſe words, and conſider what was his intent, when he wrote them, we ſhall finde that the leſſon which we are hence to learn is, that we be like unto *Jacob* in the book of *Geneſis*, wraſtle with God, and tell him to his face, *That we will not let him go till he hath given us his bleſſing.* That we become like bold fac't ſuitors or impudent beggars that will not be put by with a denial: but when we have powred out our ſupplications unto God, and finde his ear lockt up againſt us, yet to commence them again and again, and the third time; yea, without any fainting or giving over, till by a kinde of importunate and unmannerly devotion we have conſtrain'd God to let a bleſſing fall: and that this was the intent of the Holy Ghoſt in this place, it appears upon the very reading of the parable. I will briefly ſpeak unto you of both theſe *ſenſes* in their order, and firſt of the *ſenſe* which the words do give. *That we ought alwayes without intermiſſion to pray.* Devotion in ordinary perſons is a thing eaſily raiſed, and eaſily alayed, Every ſtrange event, every fear, every little calamity or diſtreſs is enough to put us into a ſtrain of religious meditation, but on the contrary ſide, a ſmall matter doth again as quickly kill it. It ſeems to be like a *quotidian* Ague, it comes by fits, every day it takes us, and every day it leaves us: or like flax or ſtraw, or ſuch light and drie ſtuffe, which eaſily kindles, and as ſoon goes out. Indeed it is a good thing when we finde our hearts thus tender, and upon every occaſion ready to melt into devotion: for as to be quick of ſenſe is a ſigne of life, and the pureſt and beſt complexions are quickeſt

of ſenſe: ſo it is a great argument of ſpiritual life in us, and of purity of ſoul, when we are εὐλαβεῖς, ſo eaſily apt to fall upon devout meditation. But our Saviour requires yet another quality in our devotion: it muſt be as laſting as it is quick. *Quintilian* adviſes his Orator to beware how he ſtand too long upon a place of paſſion: becauſe that paſſion is not laſting, *& nihil facilius lachrymis in arefcit*; and men cannot long weep. But beloved our Saviour gives other precepts of Chriſtian Oratory: he wills, if we will prevail with God to inſiſt and dwell long upon a place of religious paſſion, and provide that our tears may be perpetual and never drie: an hard thing you will take it to be; yet certainly it is very poſsible. There is a queſtion raiſed among the great maſters of Natural learning, whether or no there may be a *lamp* ſo provided, that it may burn for ever. And they think it may be done: beloved, our Saviour here teaches to practiſe that in ſpirituals, which hath been but a matter of ſpeculation in Naturals, even ſo to kindle and dreſs our lamps, as that they ſhall never go out, but be like unto the good Huſwifes candle in the *Proverbs*, that goes not out by night, or rather like the ſun which ſhines for evermore. *Daniel* is ſaid to have kindled this lamp, and to have made his prayer thrice a day, *David* ſeven times a day, but this is not enough; for in that the one is noted to have prayed ſeven times a day, the other thrice: It is likely at other times they did not pray, but God is not contented with this Intermittent prayer; for if we look upon my text, we ſhall ſee that there muſt be no inſtant free from prayer: we muſt not meaſure our prayers by number. Number is a Diſcrete quantity as we call it, the parts of it are not connext, are not tyed together, there is a ſeparation, a diſtance betwixt them. That that meaſures out our prayer muſt be line and length, ſome continued quantity, whoſe parts have no ſeparation, no intermiſsion: For ſo ſaith my text, *men ought alwayes to pray*. *Alwayes*, the whole life of a man ought to be but one continual prayer. But let us a little conſider how poſsible this is, and ſee if there be any thing, that doth neceſſarily enforce intermiſsion of prayer. And firſt, that wonderful lamp of which I but now told you great Schollers had ſpoken, is not yet made,

made, becauſe they are not agreed of what matter to make it. And indeed in the world, things either are not at all, or being, do at length ceaſe to be, either becauſe there is no fit matter whence they may be framed, or elſe the matter of which they are made, vaniſhes and dies. But beloved, prayer is a ſtrange thing, it can never want matter: It will be made ἀναξαγορικῶς *quolibet* out of any matter, upon any occaſion whatſoever, whatſoever you do, whereſoever you are, doth miniſter occaſion of ſome kinde of prayer, either of thankſgiving unto God for his goodneſs, or of prayſing, and admiring his greatneſs, or of petitioning to him in caſe of want or diſtreſs, or bewailing ſome ſin or neglect committed. Is it the conſideration of Gods benefits, that will move us to thankfulneſs? Then certainly our thankfulneſs ought to be perpetual, there is no perſon ſo mean, no ſoul ſo poor, and diſtreſſed and miſerable, but if he ſearch narrowly, he ſhall finde ſome bleſſing, for which he ows thankfulneſs unto God. If nothing elſe, yet his very miſery and diſtreſs is a ſingular bleſſing, if he uſe it to that end for which it was ſent. Is it the conſideration of diſtreſs and affliction, and ſome degree of the curſe of God upon us that will ſtir our devotion? Indeed this is it with moſt men that kindles the fire of prayer in our hearts. Men for the moſt part are like unto the unſlak't Lime, which never heats till you throw water upon it; ſo they never grow warm in devotion till ſomewhat contrary to their wiſhes and diſpoſition begins to afflict them: then certainly our petitions to God ought never to ceaſe. For never was there man in any moment of his life entirely happy, either in body, goods, or good name, every man hath ſome part of affliction? Bleſſing and curſing, though they ſeem to be enemies, and contrary one to another, yet are never ſevered, but go hand in hand together. Some men have more of one, ſome of another, but there is no man but hath ſome part of both; wherefore as it ſeems not only prayer in general, but all kind, all ſort of prayer ought to be continual. Prayer muſt not be, as it were of one thred, we muſt blend and temper together all kind of prayer, our praiſe or thanks, our ſorrow, and make our prayer like *Joſephs particolored Coat*, like a beautiful garment of ſundry

ſundry colours. So then as fire goes not out ſo long as it hath matter to feed on, ſo what ſhall be able to interrupt our devotion which hath ſo great and everlaſting ſtore of matter to continue it.

Secondly, many things in the world are neceſſarily intermitted, becauſe they are tyed to place or times; all places all times are not convenient for them; but in caſe of prayer it is otherwiſe, it ſeeks no place, it attends no time; It is not neceſſary we ſhould come to the Church, or expect a Sabbath or an holy-day, for prayer indeed eſpecially was the Sabbaoth ordained, yet prayer it ſelf is Sabboathleſs, and admits no reſt, no intermiſſion at all: If our hands be clean we muſt as our Apoſtle commands us lift them up *every where* at all times and make every place a Church, every day a Sabbaoth, every hour Canonical, ἔξεστι καὶ ἀνθρώπου εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλοντα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βαδίζοντα εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκλενεῖς: As you go to the market, as you ſtand in the ſtreets, as you walk in the fields in all theſe places ye may pray as well and with as good acceptance as in the Church, For you your ſelves are temples of the holy Ghoſt, if the grace of God be in you more precious then any of thoſe which are made with hands; The Church of *Rome* hath made a part of her *Breviary*, or *Common Prayer Book*, which ſhe calls *Itinerarium Clericorum*, and it is a ſet form of prayer, which Clergy-men ought to uſe when they ſet out in a journey and are upon their way, why ſhe calls it *Itinerarium Clericorum*, and impropriates it unto the Clergy, I know not, ſhe might, for ought I ſee, have called it *Itinerarium Laicorum*. The *Itinerary* of the Laity: ſince it is a duty belonging unto them as well as to the Miniſter. Yet thus much the example of that Church teaches, that no place no occaſion excludes Prayer. We read in our books that one of the Ethnick Emperors was much taken when he ſaw a *woman* going in the ſtreets with her veſſel of water on her head, her childe at her girdle, her ſpindle in her hand twiſting her threed as ſhe went: He thought it a wonderful portion of diligence thus to employ all places and times indifferently. Beloved if it be thus with bodily labor, how much more ſhould it be ſo with the labor of the ſoul, which is far more eaſie and needs not the help

help of any bodily inſtrument to act it. And how welcome a ſpectacle will it be think you unto the great King of Heaven and Earth when he ſhall ſee that no time, no occaſion, is able to interrupt the labour of our devotion? Is it the time of Feaſting and Jollity, which ſeems to preſcribe againſt prayer: Indeed prayer is a grave and ſober action and ſeems not to ſtand with ſport and merriment; yet notwithſtanding it is of ſo pliable a nature, that it will accommodate and fit it ſelf even to feaſts and ſportings; we read in the book of *Daniel* that when *Belſhazzer* made his great and laſt feaſt to his Princes and Lords that they were merry and drank wine in bowls and prayſed the *Gods of Gold and Silver, of Braſs, and of Iron, of Wood, and of Stone.* Beloved, ſhall Ethnick feaſts finde room for their Idolatrous worſhip, and praiſe of their Golden, Brazen, Wooden Gods, and ſhall not our Chriſtian Feaſts yield ſome place for the praiſe of the true God of Heaven and Earth. Laſt of all is it time of ſleep that ſeems to give a vacation, and *otium* to prayer? Beloved, ſleep is no part of our life, we are not accountable for things done or not done then. *Tertullian* tells us that an unclean dream ſhall no more condemn us then a dream of Martyrdom ſhall crown us: and the *Caſuiſts* do teach that looſe dreams in the night ſhall never bee laid to our charge if they be not occaſioned by lewd thoughts in the day: for they are *Cogitationes injectæ non enatæ*, they are not thoughts ſpringing out, but caſt into our hearts by the Devil, upon his ſcore ſhall they go and we ſhall not reckon for them: So then though ſleep partake not of our devotion, yet this hinders not the continualneſs of it. *Ariſtotle* tells us that men who ſleep perceive not any part of time to have paſſed; becauſe they tie the laſt moment of their watching with the firſt moment of their awaking, as having no ſenſe of what paſt betwixt, and ſo account of it, as one continued time. Beloved, if we do with our devotion, as we do with our time, if we ſhut up the laſt inſtant of our watching with a prayer, and reſume that prayer at the firſt inſtant of our waking, we have made it one continued prayer without interruption.

Thirdly, and laſt of all the greateſt reaſon why many buſineſſes of

of the world cannot be acted perpetually, is becauſe they muſt give room to others, *Unicum arbuſtum non alit duos Erithacos:* The actions of the world are many times like unto quarrelſome birds, two of them cannot peaceably dwell in one buſh. But prayer hath that property which *Ariſtotle* gives unto ſubſtance *nulli eſſe contrarium*, it is at peace and holds good terms with all our cares of the world. No buſineſs ſo great, or that ſo much takes up the time and minde of a man as that it needs exclude prayer: It is of a ſoft and ſociable nature, and it can incorporate and ſink into our buſineſs like water into Aſhes and never increaſe the bulk of them: It can mix and interweave it ſelf with all our cares without any hinderance unto them: Nay, it is a great ſtrength and improvement unto them, ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς πλίνθους διχοδομεῖν μέλλοντες, &c. For ſaith *S. Chryſoſtome* as they that build houſes of clay, muſt every where place ſtuds and pieces of timber and wood ſo to ſtrengthen the building, ὅτω δὴ καὶ βιωτικὰς πραγμάτειας ἀνάσας καθάπερ ἰμαντίνοις τισὶ ξυλῶν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν ἐυχῶν διαλαμβάνειν δεῖ, ſo all our cares of this life, which are no better then buildings of dirt and clay we muſt ſtrengthen and compact together with frequent and often prayer, as with bonds and props of tymber; Let no man therefore think it, μέγα λίαν ἄτοπον, that it is too much to require at the hands of men at one and the ſelf ſame inſtant both to attend their vocation and their prayer: For the minde of a man is a very agile and nimble ſubſtance, and it is a wonderful thing to ſee how many things it will at one moment apply it ſelf unto without any confuſion or let. Look but upon the Muſician while he is in his practice, he tunes his voice, fingers his Inſtrument, reads his dity marks the note, obſerves the the time, all theſe things *ſimul & ſemel* at one and the ſame inſtant without any diſtraction or impediment: Thus ſhould men do in caſe of devotion & in the common acts of our vocation let prayer beare a part: For prayer added unto diligent labor is like a ſweet voyce to a well tuned Inſtrument and makes a pleaſing harmony in the ears of God, ἔξεσι καὶ γυναῖκα ἡλακάτην κατέχουσαν καὶ ἰσουργοῦσαν ἀναβλέψαι εἰς τὸν ἐρανὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ καλέσαι μετὰ θερμότητος τὸν θεὸν;

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The good Huſwife ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*, as ſhe ſits at her diſtaffe, and reaches out her hand to the flax, may even then lift up, if not her eyes, yet her minde unto Heaven, and conſecrate and hallow her work with earneſt prayer unto God. *Arator ſtivam tenens Hallelujah ſecantat, ſudans meſſor Pſalmis ſeſe evocat & curvâ attondens falce vites vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit.* The Husbandman (ſaith St. *Hierome*) at the Plough-tail may ſing an Hallelujah, the ſweating Harveſt-man may refreſh himſelf with a Pſalm, the Gardiner whileſt he prunes his Vines and Arbors, may record ſome one of *Davids* ſonnets. The reaſon of this pliable nature of prayer is, becauſe it is a thing of another condition, then the acts of the world are. It requires no outward labour of the body, no outward faſhion and manner of doing, but is internally acted in the ſoul it ſelf, and leaves the outward members of our bodies free to perform thoſe offices which require their help. Our legal buſineſs in the world muſt be done in certain forms of *breves* and writs, and I know not what variety of outward ceremony, or elſe it is not warrantable. But prayer, beloved, is not like an obligation or indenture, it requires no outward ſolemnity of words and ceremony. Quaint, witty, and ſet forms of prayer proceed many times from oſtentation more then devotion: for any thing I know, it requires not ſo much as the moving of the lips or tongue. Nay, one thing I know more, that the moſt forcible prayer tranſcends and far exceeds all power of words. For St. *Paul* ſpeaking unto us concerning the moſt effectual kinde of prayer, calls it στεναγματα ἀλάλητα, ſighs and groans that cannot be expreſſed. Nothing does crie ſo loud in the ears of God, as the ſighing of a contrite and earneſt heart, we read in the 14. of *Exodus*, that God ſpeaks unto *Moſes, why cryeſt thou unto me, command the children of Iſrael that they go forward*: yet there appears not in the text any prayer that *Moſes* made, or word that he ſpake. It was the earneſtneſs of *Moſes* heart, that was ſo μεγαλόφωνος, that did ſo ſound in the ears of the Lord. Wherefore true prayer hath no commerce with the outward members of the body, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν φωνῆς χρεία ὡς διανοίας οὐδὲ ἐκτάσεως χειρῶν ὡς συντεταμένης ψυχῆς οὐδὲ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος; for it requires

not the voice, but the minde, not the ſtretching of the hands, but the intenſion of the ſoul; not any outward ſhape or carriage of body, but the inward behaviour of the underſtanding. how then can it ſlacken your worldly buſineſs and occaſions, to mix with them ſighs and groans, which are the moſt effectual kindes of prayer. And let this ſuffice concerning the firſt meaning of the words; I will briefly ſpeak concerning the ſecond meaning which I told you was the ſenſe intended by the Holy Ghoſt when he wrote, and it is an exhortation to a religious importunity in our prayers: not to let our ſuits fall, becauſe they are not preſently granted, but never to leave ſolliciting, till we have prevailed, and ſo take the bleſſings of God by violence, *Gratiſſima vis.* This force, this violence is a thing moſt welcome unto God; for if the importunity of *Eſau's* falſe, feigned, and malicious tears drew a bleſſing from his Father *Iſaac*, who yet had no greater ſtore of bleſsings, as it ſeems, how much more ſhall the true religious importunity of zealous prayer pull a bleſſing out of the hands of God, who is rich in bleſsings above the ſands of the Sea in multitude? It is the Courtiers rule, that over modeſt ſuitors ſeldome ſpeed. Beloved, we muſt follow the ſame rule in the Court of Heaven; intempeſtive baſhfulneſs gets nothing there. *Qui timide rogat, docet negare*, Faint asking does invite a denial; will you know the true name of the behaviour which prevails with God; St. *Luke* in his 11. Chapter calls it ἀναιδείαν, and St. *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaking of the behaviour of the *Canaaniteſſe* woman in the 25. of St. *Matthew* tells us, καλὴν ἀπεναισχύντησε τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν, ἀναιδία ἀναισχυντία, improbity, importunity, impudency, theſe be the names of that perſon & behaviour, which you muſt put on, if you mean to prevail in your ſuits with God. And indeed, if we conſider that habit and manner, that God is wont to put on, when his children do become ſuitors unto him, how he puts on a rigid, rough and untractable carriage, even towards his deareſt children, even then when he means them moſt good, we ſhall plainly ſee, we muſt uſe ſuch kinde of behaviour, if we will prevail with him, for the more effectually to expreſs this demeanor of God toward his children, and to aſſure us it is ſo, and to teach us importunity,

our Saviour Chriſt, that great Maſter of requeſts, may ſeem to have done himſelf ſome wrong; firſt, by drawing in a manner odious compariſons, and likening the behaviour of God in theſe caſes to a ſlothful friend, that is loath to leave his warm bed, to do his friend a pleaſure, and here in my text to an unjuſt Judge, that fears neither God nor man; and ſecondly, by his own behaviour toward the *Canaanitiſh* woman. It is ſtrange to obſerve, how though he were the meekeſt perſon that ever was upon earth, yet here he ſtrives as it were to unnaturalize himſelf, and lay by his natural ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, almoſt to forget common humanity, and puts on a kinde of ſullen, and ſurly perſon of purpoſe to deter her: you ſhall not finde our Saviour in all the New Teſtament in ſuch a mood, ſo bent to contemn and vilifie a poor ſuitor. St. *Auſtine* comparing together St. *Matthew* and *Mark*, who both of them record the ſame ſtory, and gathering together the circumſtances out of them both, tells us, that firſt ſhe follows our Saviour in the ſtreet, and that our Saviour takes houſe as it were to ſhelter himſelf from her, but ſhe comes after, and throws her ſelf at his feet: and he as offended with her importunity, again quits the houſe to be rid of her, and all this while deigns her not a word. If any behaviour could have daſht a ſuit, and broken the heart of a poor ſuiter, this had been enough, but here's not all, we have a civil precept, that if we be not diſpoſed to pleaſure a ſuiter, yet to give him good words and ſhape him a gentle anſwer, it is hard if we cannot afford a ſuiter a gentle word. We read of *Tiberius* the Emperour, (as I remember) that he would never ſuffer any man to go ſad and diſcontented from him, yet our Saviour ſeems to have forgot this part of civility, being importun'd to anſwer her, gives her an anſwer worſe then ſilence, and ſpeaks words like the piercing of a ſword, as *Solomon* ſpeaks. I *may not take the childrens bread and caſt it unto dogs.* And yet after all this ſtrange copie of countenance, he fully ſubſcribes to her requeſt. Beloved, God hath not only expreſt thus much in parables, and practiſed theſe ſtrange delays upon *Canaanitiſh* women, but he hath acted it indeed, and that upon his deareſt Saints. *David* one of the worthieſt of his Saints, yet how paſſionately

onately doth he cry out, *How long Lord wilt thou forget me? How long ſhall I ſeek counſel in my ſoul and be ſo vexed in my heart.* Not only the Saints on earth, but even thoſe in heaven do ſeem to partake in this demeanor of God, we read in the book of the Revelation that when the ſouls of the Martyrs under the Altar cried out, *how long Lord juſt and holy doſt thou not avenge our blood from off the earth*; they received this anſwer, *have patience yet a little while.* It is ſtoryed of *Diogenes*, that he was wont to ſupplicate to the *ſtatues*, and to hold out his hands and beg of them, that ſo he might learn to brook and devour denial, and tediouſneſs of ſuit. Beloved, let us but meditate upon theſe examples, which I have related, and we ſhall not need to practice any of the *Cynics art.* For if the Saints and bleſſed Martyrs have their ſuites ſo long depending in the Courts of Heaven then good reaſon that we ſhould learn to brook delays, and arm our ſelves with patience and expectation, when we finde the ears of God not ſo open to our requeſts. When *Joſephs* brethren came down to buy corn, he gave them but a courſe welcome he ſpake roughly unto them, he laid them in priſon; yet the text tells us that his bowels melted upon them and at length he opened himſelf, and gave them courteous entertainment. Beloved, when we come unto God as it were to buy corn, to beg at his hands ſuch bleſſings as we need though he ſpeak roughly, though he deal more roughly with us, yet let us know he hath ſtill *Joſephs* bowels, that his heart melts towards us, and at length he will open himſelf, and entertain us lovingly. And be it peradventure that we gain not what we look for: yet our labor of prayer is not loſt. The bleſſed ſouls under the Altar of which I ſpake but now, though their petition was not granted, yet *had they long white garments given them.* Even ſo, beloved, if the wiſdom of God ſhall not think it fit to perform our requeſts, yet he will give us the long white garment; ſomething which ſhall be in liev of a Suit; though nothing elſe, yet patience and contentment which are the greateſt bleſſings upon earth.

FINIS.

John 18. 36.

Jesus answered, my Kingdome is not of this world: If my Kingdome were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, &c.

AS in the Kingdomes of the world, there is an art of *Courtship*, a skill and mystery teaching to manage them: so in the spiritual Kingdom of God, and of Christ, there is an holy policie; there is an art of spiritual Courtship, which teaches every subject there, how to demean and bear himself. But, as betwixt their Kingdomes, so betwixt their arts and Courtship, betwixt the Courtier of the one, and the Courtier of the other, there is, as *Abraham* tells the rich man in St. *Luke*, μέγα χάσμα, a great distance, a great difference, and not only one, but many. Sundry of them I shall have occasion to touch in the process of my discourse; mean while I will single out one, which I will use as a prologue, and way unto my text. In the Kingdomes of earthly Princes, every subject is not fit to make a Courtier; yea, were all fit, this were an honour to be communicated only unto some: *Sic opus est mundo.* There is a necessity of disproportion and inequality between men and men: and were all persons equal

equal the world could not consist: Of men of ordinary fashion and parts some must to the Plough, some to their Merchandize, some to their Books, some to one Trade some to another: only ὁ χαρίεντες καὶ πρακτικοὶ, as *Aristotle* calls them, men of more then common wit and ability, active, choice, pickt out of a thousand, such must they be that bear honors, attend on Princes persons, and serve in their Courts. The Scripture tells us that when King *Solomon* saw that *Jeroboam* was an active, able, and industrious young man, he took him and made him ruler over all the charge of the house of *Joseph*. Again, when *David* invited old *Barzillai* to the Court, the good old man excuses himself: I am, saith he, fourscore years of Age, and can thy servant *tast what I eat*, or what *I drink: can I hear any more the voyce of singing men and singing women: Lo here my son* Chimham, *he shall go with my Lord the King, and do with him as shall seem good in thine eyes. Jeroboam* and *Chimham*, strong and able, and active persons such are they that dwell in Kings houses: of the rest some are too old, some too young, some too dull, some too rude, or by some means or other unfit for such an end. Thus fares it with the honors of the world, they seem to participate of envy, or melancholy, and are of a solitary disposition they are brighteſt when they are alone, or but in few make them common and they loose their grace, like lamps they may give light unto few, or to some one room, but no farther. But the honors in the Court of the great King of Heaven, are of another nature, they rejoyce in being communicated, and their glory is in the multitude of those that do partake in them. They are like unto the Sun that rises *non homini sed humano generi*: not to this or that man, but to all the world; In the Court of God no difference between *Jeroboam* and *Barzillai*, none too old, none too young: no indisposition, no imperfection, makes you uncapable of honors there; Be but of his Kingdom, and you are necessarily of his Court: Every man who is a subject there, is a Courtier; yea, more then a Courtier, he is a Peer, he is a King, and hath an army of Angels at his service to pitch their tents about him, to deliver him; a guard of Ministring Spirits sent out to attend him for his safety.

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It ſhall not therefore be unſeaſonable for the meaneſt perſon that hears me this day to hear as it were a Lecture of Spiritual policy and Courtſhip: For no Auditory can be unfit for ſuch a leſſon. *Ariſtotle* was wont to divide his lectures and readings into Acroamatical, and Exoterical, ſome of them contained onely choice matter, and they were read privately to a *Select Auditory*: others contain'd but ordinary ſtuff and were promiſcuouſly and in publick expoſed to the hearing of all that would; Beloved we read no Acroamatick Lectures: The ſecrets of the Court of Heaven (as far as it hath pleaſed the King of Heaven to reveal them) lie open alike to all. Every man is alike of his Court, alike of his Councel: and the meaneſt among Chriſtians muſt not take it to be a thing without his Sphere, above his reach, but muſt make account of himſelf as a fit hearer of a leſſon in Spiritual and ſaving policy; ſince if he be a ſubject in the kingdom of Chriſt, he can be no leſs then a Courtier.

Now the firſt and main leſſon to be learned by a Courtier, is how to diſcover and know the diſpoſition, & nature of the Lord, whom he is to ſerve, and the quality of that Common-wealth in which he bears a place, *ad conſilium de republica dandum caput eſt.* That therefore our heavenly Courtier may not miſtake himſelf, but be able to fit himſelf to the place he bears. I have made choice of theſe few words, which but now I read; words ſpoken by the King of that Common-wealth, of which I am to treat, unto ſuch as mean to be his Liege-men there: words which ſufficiently open unto the Chriſtian polititian the ſtate and quality of that Court in which he is to ſerve: *My kingdom is not of this world, for if it were then would my ſervants fight*; which words ſeem like the *Parthian* horſmen, whoſe manner was to ride one way, but to ſhoot another way, they ſeem to go apace towards *Pilate*, but they aim and ſhot at another mark, or rather like unto the ſpeaker of them unto our Saviour himſelf when he was in one of the Villages of *Samaria*, *Luke* the ninth, where the text notes that though he were in *Samaria*, *yet his face was ſet towards Hieruſalem*: ſo beloved, though theſe words be ſpoken to a *Samaritane* to an infidel to *Pilate*, yet their face is toward *Hieruſalem*.

lem, they are a leſſon directed to the ſubjects of his Spiritual Kingdom of that *Hieruſalem* which is from above and is the Mother of us all. In them we may conſider two General parts. Firſt, a *Denuntiation* and meſſage unto us; and Secondly, a *ſigne* to confirme the truth of it. For it is the manner and method as it were which God doth uſe, when he diſpatches a meſſage, to annex a ſigne unto it, by which it may be known. When he ſent *Moſes* to the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, and *Moſes* required a ſigne, he gave him a ſigne in his hand, in his Rod; when he ſent *Gideon* againſt *Madian* he gave him a ſigne in the Fleece of Wool which was upon the Floor; when he ſent the Prophet to *Hieroboam* to propheſie againſt the Altar in *Bethel*, he gave him a ſigne that the Altar ſhould rend, and the aſhes fall out, when he ſent *Eſay* with a meſſage to King *Ahaz*, he gave him a ſigne; *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive*: So Beloved in theſe words, *There is a Meſſage*, *There is a Signe*: The firſt words are the Meſſage; *My Kingdom is not of this world*, &c. The next words, *For if it were then would my ſervants fight*, &c. *Theſe are* Moſes *rod and* Gideons *Fleece they are the ſigne which confirm the Meſſage.* The firſt part is a general propoſition or Maxime: the ſecond is an example, and particular inſtance of it. For in the firſt our Saviour diſtinguiſhes his Kingdome from the kingdomes of the world, and from all the faſhions of them. In the ſecond, amongſt many other he chuſes one inſtance, Wherein particularly he notes, that his Kingdome is unlike to earthly kingdomes. For the kingdoms of the world are purchaſed and maintain'd by violence and blood, but ſo is not his. The reaſon why our Saviour faſtens upon this reaſon of diſſimilitude and unlikeneſs is, becauſe in gaining and upholding temporal Kingdomes, nothing ſo uſual as the ſword and war. No Kingdome of the world, but by the ſword is either gotten or held, or both. The ſword in a ſecular common wealth is like the rod in a School, remove that away and men will take their liberty. It is the plea which the *Tarquins* uſed to King *Porſenna* in *Livie*. *Satis libertatem ipſam habere dulcedinis, niſi quantâ vi civitates eam expetant tantâ regna reges defendant, æquare ſumma*

infimis

infimis adeſſe finem regnis rei inter Deos hominesq; pulcherrimæ. The taſte of liberty is ſo ſweet, that except Kings maintain their authority with as great violence, as the people affect their liberty, all things will run to confuſion; and Kingdomes which are the goodlieſt things in the world, will quickly go to wrack: when God gave a temporal Kingdome unto his own people, he ſent *Moſes* and *Joſhua* before them to purchaſe it with the ſword, when they were poſſeſt of this Kingdome, he ſends then *Gideon* and *Sampſon*, and *David*, and many worthies more to maintain it by the ſword. But now being to open unto the world another kinde of Kingdome, of rule and government, then hitherto it had been acquainted with: he tells us, that he is a King of a Kingdome which is erected and maintained not by *Joſhua* and *David*, but by *Peter* and *Paul*, not by the ſword, but by the ſpirit, not by violence, but by love, not by ſtriving, but by yielding, not by fighting, but by dying. *Pilate* had heard, that he was a King. It was the accuſation which was fram'd againſt him, that he bare himſelf as King of the Jews; But becauſe, he ſaw no pomp, no train, no guard about him, he took it but as an idle report. To put him therefore out of doubt, our Saviour aſſures him, that he is a King, but of ſuch a Kingdome as he could not skill of: *My Kingdome is not of this world*, &c. For the better unfolding of which words; firſt we will conſider what the meaning of this word *Kingdome* is, for there lies an ambiguity in it. Secondly, we will conſider what leſſons for our inſtruction the next words will yield, *Not of this world*; firſt of this word *Kingdome*.

Our Saviour is a King three manner of wayes, and ſo correlatively hath three diſtinct ſeveral Kingdomes. He is firſt a King in the largeſt extent and meaning which can poſsibly be imagined, and that is, as he is Creator and abſolute Lord of all creatures. Of this Kingdome, Heaven, Earth, and Hell are three large provinces. Angels, Men, and Devils, his very enemies, every creature viſible and inviſible are ſubjects of this Kingdome. The glory and ſtrength of this Kingdome conſiſts leaſt of all in men, and man is the weakeſt part of it. For there is ſcarcely a creature in the world, by whom he hath not been

conquer'd. When *Alexander* the great had travelled through *India*, and over-run many large provinces, and conquer'd many popular Cities; when tidings came, that his Soldiers in *Greece* had taken some small towns there, he scorn'd the news, and in contempt, me thinks (said he) I hear of the battel of Frogs and mice. Beloved, if we look upon these huge armies of creatures, and consider of what wonderful strength they are, when the Lord summons them to battel: all the armies of men, and famous battels, of which we have so large histories in the comparison of these what are they, but a βατραχομυομαχία, but *Homers* tale, a battel of Frogs and Mice. Infinite legions of Angels attend him in Heaven, and every *Angel* is an Armie: one Angel in the Book of *Kings* is sent out against the army of the *Assyrians*, and in one night foure-score thousand persons die for it. Base and contemptible creatures, when God calls for them, are of strength to conquer whole Countreys. He overruns *Ægypt* with his armies of Frogs, and Flies, and Lice, and before his own people with an armie of Hornets chases the *Canaanites* out of the Land. Nay, the dull and senseless elements, are up in arms when God summons them. He shoots his Hail-shot; with his Hail-stones from Heaven he destroyes more of the *Canaanites*, then the *Israelites* can with their swords. As for his armies of fire and water, what power is able to withstand them; every creature, when God calls, is a soldier. How great then is the glory of this Kingdome of which the meanest parts are invincible. Secondly, again our Saviour is a King in a more restrain'd and confin'd sense, as he is in Heaven attended on by Angels, and Arch-angels, powers, principalities, and all the heavenly hosts. For though he be omnipresent and fills every place both in Heaven and Earth; yet Heaven is the *Palace* and *Throne* of this *Kingdome*, there is he better seen and known, there with more state and honour served, and therefore more properly is his Kingdome said to be there. And this is called his *Kingdome of glory*. The rules, and laws, and admirable orders of which Kingdome, could we come to see and discover, it would be with us, as it was with the *Queen* of *Saba*, when she came to visit *Solomon*, of whom the Scripture notes; that when

when ſhe heard his wiſdome, and had ſeen the order of his ſervants, the attendance that was given him, and the manner of his table. *There was no more Spirit left in her.* Beloved, *Dum Spiritus hos regit artus.* Whileſt this Spirit is in us, we cannot poſsibly come to diſcern the laws and orders of this Kingdome, and therefore I am conſtrained to be ſilent.

Thirdly, our Saviour is a King in a ſenſe, yet more impropriated. For as he took our nature upon him, as he came into the world to redeem mankinde, and to conquer Hell and death, ſo is there a *Kingdome* annext unto him; *A Kingdome*, the purchaſe whereof coſt him much ſweat and blood, of which neither Angels, nor any other creature are a part, only that remnant of mankinde, that *Ereptus titio.* That number of bleſſed *Souls*, which like a brand out of the fire, by his death and paſsion he hath recovered out of the power of ſin; and all theſe alone are the ſubjects of that *Kingdome.* And this is that, which is called his *Kingdome* of *Grace*, and which himſelf in Scripture every where calls his *Church*, his *Spouſe*, his Body, his *Flock*: and this is that *Kingdome*, which in this place is ſpoken of; and of which our Saviour tells *Pilate.* *That it is not of this world*; *My Kingdome is not of this world.*

Which words at the firſt reading, may ſeem to ſavour of a little imperfection; for they are nothing elſe but a *Negation* or *denial.* Now our Books teach us, that a *Negative* makes nothing known; for we know things by diſcovering not what they are not, but what they are: yet when we have well examin'd them, we ſhall finde that there could not have been a ſpeech delivered more effectual for the opening the nature of the Church, and the diſcovery of mens errors in that reſpect. For I know no error ſo common, ſo frequent, ſo hardly to be rooted out, ſo much hindering the knowledg of the true nature of the Church, as this, that men do take the Church to be like unto the world. *Tully* tells us of a *Muſician*, that being asked what the Soul was, anſwered, that it was *Harmonie*, *et is* (ſaith he) *à principiis artis ſuæ non receſcit.* He knew not how to leave the principles of his own art. Again *Plato's* Schollers had been altogether bred up in Arithmetick, and the knowledge of numbers, and hence it came,

that when afterward they diverted their ſtudies to the knowledge of Nature, or Moral Philoſophy; whereſoever they walked, they ſtill feined to themſelves ſome what like unto Numbers: the world they ſuppoſed was fram'd out of numbers, Cities, and Kingdomes, and Common-wealths they thought ſtood by numbers, Number with them, was ſole principle and creator of every thing. Beloved, when we come to learn the quality and ſtate of Chriſts Kingdome, it fares much with us, as it does with *Tullies Muſician*, or *Plato's* Schollers, *difficulter à principiis artis noſtræ recedimus*. Hardly can we forſake thoſe principles, in which we have been brought up. In the world we are born, in it we are bred, the world is the greateſt part of our ſtudie, to the true knowledge of God and of Chriſt, ſtill we fancy unto us ſomething of the world. It may ſeem but a light thing that I ſhall ſay, yet becauſe it ſeems fitly to open my meaning, I will not refrain to ſpeak it: *Lucian*, when *Priams young ſon* was taken up into heaven, brings him in calling for milk and cheeſe, and ſuch countrey cates as he was wont to eat on earth. Beloved, when we firſt come to the Table of God, to heavenly *Manna* and *Angels* food, it is much with us, as it was with *Priams young ſon*, when he came firſt into Heaven, we cannot forget the milk and cheeſe, and the groſs diet of the world. Our Saviour and his bleſſed Apoſtles had great and often experience of this error in men; when our Saviour preach't to *Nicodemus* the doctrine of regeneration, and new birth, how doth he ſtill harp upon a groſs conceit of a re-entry to be made into his mothers womb. When he preacht unto the *Samaritane women* concerning the water of life, how hardly is ſhe driven from thinking of a material Elementary water, ſuch as was in *Jacobs* well. When *Simon Magus* in the *Acts* ſaw, that by laying on of hands, the Apoſtles gave the Holy Ghoſt, he offers them money to purchaſe himſelf the like power. He had been trafficking, and merchandizing in the world, and ſaw what authority, what a Kingdome money had amongſt men: he therefore preſently conceited *cœlum venale Deumque*: that God and Heaven, and all would be had for money. To teach therefore the young Courtier in the Court of Heaven that he commit no ſuch Soleciſms, that hereafter he ſpeak the true language,

Language, and dialect of God, our Saviour sets down this as a principal rule in our Spiritual Grammar: That *his Court* is not of this world; Nay, beloved not only the young Courtier, but many of the old servants in the Court of Christ are stain'd with this error. It is storied of *Leonides* which was School-master to *Alexander* the great, that he infected his non-age with some vices, *quæ robustum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt prosecuta*, which followed him then, when he was at mans estate. Beloved the world hath been a long time a School-master unto us, and hath stain'd our nonage with some of these spots which appear in us, even then when we are strong men in Christ. When our Saviour in the *Acts* after his Resurrection was discoursing to his Disciples concerning the kingdom of God, they presently brake forth into this question, *Wilt thou now restore the kingdom unto Israel?* Certainly this question betrays their ignorance, their thoughts still ran upon a kingdom like unto the kingdoms of the world, notwithstanding they had so long, and so often heard our Saviour to the contrary, Our Saviour therefore shortly takes them up; *Non est vestrum*, your question is nothing to the purpose; the kingdom that I have spoken of is another manner of kingdom then you conceive. Sixteen hundred years, *Et quod Excurrit*, hath the Gospel been preached unto the world, & is this stain spunged out yet; I doubt it, whence arise those novel & late disputes, *de notis Ecclesiæ*, of the notes & visibility of the Church, Is it not from hence that they of *Rome* take the world & the Church to be like *Mercury* and *Sosia* in *Plautus* his comædies so like one another that one of them must wear a toy in his cap, that so the spectators may distinguish them; whence comes it that they stand so much upon State and Ceremony in the Church? Is it not from hence that they think the Church must come in like *Agrippa* and *Bernice* in the *Acts*, μετα πολλης φαντασιας, as S. *Luke* speaks with a great deal of pompe, and train and shew, and vanity, and that the service of God doth necessarily require this noise, and tumult of outward State and Ceremony. Whence comes it that We are at our wits ends, when we see persecution, and sword, and fire to rage against the true professors of the Gospel? Is it not because, as these bring ruine and desolation upon the kingdoms of the world; so we suppose

poſe they work no other effect in the kingdom of Chriſt? all theſe conceits and many more of the like nature ſpring out of no other fountain, then that old inveterate error which is ſo hardly wiped out of our hearts; that the State of the Church and Kingdom of Chriſt doth hold ſome proportion? Some likeneſs with the ſtate and managing of temporal kingdoms; wherefore to pluck out of our hearts, *Opinionem tam inſitam, tam vetuſtam*, a conceit ſo ancient, ſo deeply rooted in us, our Saviour ſpake moſt excellently, moſt pertinently, and moſt fully when he tells us that his Church, that his *Kingdom is not of this world.*

In which words of his, there is contained the true art of diſcovering and knowing the true nature and eſſence of the Church. For as they which make *Statues*, cut and pare away all ſuperfluities of the matter upon which they work, ſo our Saviour to ſhew us the true proportion and feature of the Church, prunes away the world and all ſuperfluous excreſcencies, and ſends her to be ſeen as he did our firſt Parents in Paradice, ſtark naked; As thoſe *Elders* in the *Apocryphal* ſtory of *Suſanna*, when they would ſee her beauty, commanded to take of her mask: ſo he that longs to ſee the beauty of the Church, muſt pull of that mask of the world & outward ſhew. For as *Juda* in the book of *Geneſis* when *Thamar* ſate vail'd by the way ſide, knew not his daughter from an whore: ſo whilſt the Church, the daughter and ſpouſe of Chriſt ſits vail'd with the world and pompe, and ſhew, it will be an hard matter to diſcern her from an harlot; But yet further to make the difference betwixt theſe kingdoms the more plainly to appear, and the better to fix it in your memories, I will briefly touch ſome of theſe heads in which they are moſt notoriouſly differenced.

The firſt head wherein the difference is ſeen, are the perſons and *ſubjects* of this kingdom; For as the Kingdom of Chriſt is not of this world, ſo the ſubjects of this Kingdom are men of another world, and not of this: Every one of us bears a double perſon, and accordingly is the ſubject of a double Kingdom. The holy Ghoſt by the Pſalmiſt divides heaven and earth betwixt God and man, and tells us as for God, *he is in heaven, but the earth hath he given to the children of men*: So hath the ſame ſpirit by the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* divided every one of our perſons into heaven and earth

earth into an outward and *earthly* man, and into an inward and *heavenly* man: This earth, that is, this body of clay hath he given to the ſons of men, to the Princes under whoſe government we live, but heaven that is the inward and ſpiritual man hath he reſerved unto himſelf; They can reſtrain the outward man, and moderate our outward actions, by edicts and laws, they can tie our hands and our tongues—*Illa ſe jactet in aula Æolus.* Thus far they can go, and when they are gone thus far, they can go no farther. But to rule the inward man in our hearts, & ſouls, to ſet up an Imperial throne in our underſtandings, & wills, this part of our government belongs to God & to Chriſt; Theſe are the ſubjects, this the government of his Kingdom, men may be Kings of Earth, & bodies; But Chriſt alone is the King of Spirits and Souls: Yet this inward government hath influence upon our outward actions: For the Authority of Kings over our outward man is not ſo abſolute, but that it ſuffers a great reſtraint; It muſt ſtretch no further then the Prince of our inward man pleaſes: for if ſecular Princes ſtretch out the skirts of their Authority to command ought by which our ſouls are prejudiced, the King of Souls hath in this caſe given us a greater command, *That we rather obey God then men.*

The ſecond head wherein the difference betwixt theſe Kingdoms is ſeen is in their *laws*; For as the kingdoms & the lawgivers ſo are their laws very different: Firſt, in their Authors, the laws by which the Common-wealth of *Rome* was anciently govern'd, were the works of many hands, ſome of them were *Plebiſcita* the the acts of the people, others were *Senatus-conſulta* the decrees of the Senate, others *Edicta Prætorum*, the verdict of their Judges, others *Reſponſa Prudentum* the opinions of Wiſemen in caſes of doubt. Others *Reſcripta Imperatorum*, the Reſcripts and anſwers of their Emperors, when they were conſulted with; But in the kingdom of Chriſt there are no *Plebiſcita* or *Senatus-conſulta*, no people, no Senate, nor wiſemen, nor Judges, had any hand in the laws by which it is governed. Only *Reſcripta Imperatoris* the Reſcripts and Writs of our King run here, theſe alone are the Laws to which the Subjects of this Kingdom owe obedience. Again, the Laws of both theſe kingdoms differ in regard of their quality and nature; For the laws of the Kingdom of Chriſt are Eternal,

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Subſtantial, Indiſpenſable, but Laws made by humane authority, are but light, ſuperficial and temporary. For all the humane authority in the world can never enact one eternal and fundamental Law. Let all the Laws which men have made be laid together, and you ſhall ſee that they were made but upon occaſion, and circumſtance either of time, or place, or perſons in matters of themſelves indifferent, and therefore either by diſcontinuance they either fell or ceaſed of themſelves, or by reaſon of alteration of occaſion and circumſtance were neceſſarily revoked; Thoſe main fundamental Laws upon which all the Kingdoms of the world do ſtand, againſt theft, againſt murther, againſt adultery, diſhonouring of Parents or the like, they were never brought forth by man, neither were they the effects of any Parliamentary Seſſions; they were written in our ſouls from the beginning, long before there was any authority Regal extant among men. The intent of him who firſt enacted them was not to found a temporal, but to bring men to an eternal Kingdom: and ſo far forth as they are uſed for the maintaining of outward ſtate they are uſurp'd, or at the beſt but borrowed, So that in this work of ſetling even the Kingdoms of this world, if we compare the Laws of God with the Laws of men we ſhall finde that God hath as it were founded the palaces and caſtles, and ſtrength of them, but men have like little children built houſes of clay, and dirt which every blaſt of wind overturns.

The third head by which they may be ſeen is in the notes and *marks*, by which they may be known: For the Kingdoms of the world are confin'd, their place is known their ſubjects are diſcernable, they have badges and tokens, and Arms by which they are diſcovered; But the Church hath no ſuch notes, and marks, no Herauld hath as yet been found that could blazon the arms of that Kingdom. *Æſculus* the Poet in his ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, deſcribing the captains, that came either for the ſiege or defence of the City of *Thebes in Beotia* brings them in, in their order every one with his ſhield, and upon his ſhield ſome device, and over that device a Motto or word according to the uſual fancies of men in that kinde; but when he comes to *Amphiraus*, he notes of him that he had no device in his ſhield, no impreſs or word, and he

gives

gives the reaſon of it; becauſe he affected not ſhew, but to be that which others profeſt. But to carry marks and notes and devices, may well beſeem the world which is led by fancy and ſhew; but the Church is like *Amphiarus*, ſhe hath no device, no word in her ſhield, mark and eſſence with her are all one, and ſhe hath no other note but to be. And but that learned men muſt have ſomething to buſie their wits withal theſe large diſcourſes *de notis Eccleſiæ*, of the notes and marks by which we may know the Church might very well lie by as containing nothing elſe but *doctas inepcias*, Laborious vanities, and learned impertinences. For the Church is not a thing that can be pointed out: The Devil *could ſhew our Saviour Chriſt all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them*, I hope the Church was none of theſe; It is the glory of it not to be ſeen, and the note of it to be inviſible; when we call any viſible company of profeſſors a Church it is but a word of courteſie. Our of charity we hope men to be that which they do profeſs, and therefore we ſo ſpeak as if they were indeed that, whoſe name they bear, where and who they are that make up this kingdom, is a queſtion unfit for any man to move: For the Lord only knoweth who are his. It is but popiſh madneſs to ſend men up and down the world to finde the Church; It is like unto the *Children of the Prophets* in the ſecond of *Kings*, that would needs ſeek *Elias* or like the *nobles in Hieruſalem*, that would needs go ſeek *Jeremie* the Prophet, but could not finde him, becauſe the Lord had hid him: For in regard of the profeſſion; The Church (as our Saviour ſpeaks) is like a City ſet upon an hill, you may quickly ſee and know what true Chriſtianity is, But in regard of the perſons the Kingdom of Heaven is, as our Saviour again tells us like a *treaſure hidden in a field*. Except the place of their abode, and their perſons were diſcernable, who can tell, we go thus to ſeek them, whether we do not like falſe hounds *hunt Counter* (as the hunters phraſe is) and ſo go from the game, when *Saul* went to ſeek his Fathers Aſſes, he found a Kingdom; Let us take heed leaſt the contrary befal us, leaſt while we ſeek our Fathers Kingdom thus, we finde but Aſſes. Will you know where to find the Kingdom of Chriſt, our Saviour directs you in the Goſpel, *The Kingdom of Heaven*, ſaith he, cometh not by obſervation, *nei-*

ther ſhall ye ſay, Lo here, or lo there, but the Kingdom of Heaven is within you: Let every man therefore retire into himſelf and ſee if he can finde this kingdom in his heart; For if he finde it not there, in vain ſhall he finde it in all the world beſides.

The fourth head wherein the difference of theſe kingdoms is ſeen is *outward ſtate* and ceremony; for outward pompe and ſhew is one of the greateſt ſtays of the Kingdom of this world. Some thing there muſt be to amaze the people, and ſtrike them into wonderment, or elſe Majeſty would quickly be contemned. The Scripture recounting unto us King *Solomons* Royalty tells us of his Magnificent buildings, of his Royal throne, of his ſervants, and his attendants, of his cup-bearers, of his meats, and theſe were the things which purchaſed unto him, the reputation of Majeſty, above all the Kings of the earth. Beloved, the Kingdom of Chriſt is not like unto *Solomon in his* Royalty, It is like unto *David* when he had *put of* all his Royalty, and in a linnen Ephod danced before the Ark: and this plain and natural ſimplicity of it, is like unto the *Lillies of the field*, more glorious *then Solomon in all his Royalty*. The Idolatrous ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm ſtood in great need of ſuch Pompous Solemnities, *Ut opinionem ſuſpendio cognitionis ædificent, atq; ita tantam majeſtatem exhibere videantur quantã præſtruxerunt cupiditatem*, as *Tertullian* tells us; For being nothing of themſelves, they were to gain reputation of being ſomething by concealment, and by outward ſtate make ſhew of ſomething anſwerable to the expectation they had raiſed: The caſe of the kingdoms of the world is the ſame: For all this State and Magnificence uſed in the Managing of them is nothing elſe but Secular Idolatry, uſed to gain veneration, and reverence unto that which in compariſon of the Kingdom we ſpeak of is meer vanity. But the ſcepter of the Kingdome of Chriſt is a right ſcepter, and to adde unto it outward ſtate, and riches, and pomp, is nothing elſe but to make a Centaure, marry and joyn the Kingdome of Chriſt with the Kingdome of the world, which Chriſt expreſly here in my text hath divorced and put a ſunder. A thing which I do the rather note; becauſe that the long continuance of ſome ceremonies in the Church, have occaſioned many eſpecially of the Church of Rome, to think that there is no religion, no ſervice

vice without theſe ceremonies, Our books tell us of a poor *Spartan*, that travelling in another countrey, and ſeeing the beams and poſts of houſes ſquared and carved, askt *if the trees grew ſo in thoſe countreys?* Beloved, many men that have been long acquainted with a form of worſhip, ſquared and carved, trick't and ſet out with ſhew and ceremony, fall upon this *Spartans* conceit, think the trees grow ſo, and think that there is no natural ſhape and face of Gods ſervice but that. I confeſs the ſervice of God hath ever more ſome ceremony attending it, and to our Fathers, before Chriſt may ſeem to have been neceſſary, becauſe God commanded it: But let us not deceive our ſelves, for neither is ceremony now, neither was ſacrifice then eſteemed neceſſary, neither was the command of God concerning it, by thoſe to whom it was given, ever taken to be peremptory; I will begin the warrant of what I have ſaid out of St. *Chyſoſtome*; for in his comments upon the tenth of the *Hebrews*, he denies that ever God from the beginning requir'd, or that it was his will to ordain ſuch an outward form of worſhip; and asking therefore of himſelf πῶς δὲ ἐπίταξε, how then ſeems he to have commanded it, he anſwers συνκαταβαίνων, by condiſcending only, and ſubmitting himſelf unto humane infirmity, now this συγκατάβασις, this condeſcending of God, wherein it conſiſted *Oecumenius* opens. For becauſe that men had a conceit, that if was convenient to offer up ſome part of their ſubſtance unto God, and ſo ſtrongly were they poſſeſt with this conceit, that if they offered it not up to him, they would offer it up to Idols: God ſaith he, rather then they ſhould offer unto Idols, required them to offer unto him. And thus was God underſtood by the holy men themſelves, who lived under the ſhadow of thoſe ceremonies: for *David* when he had made his peace with God, after that great ſin of his opens this myſtery. *For thou requireſt not ſacrifice*, ſaith he, *elſe would I have given it thee, but thou delighteſt not in burnt offerings; The ſacrifice of God is a broken ſpirit, a troubled and a contrite heart, O God, doſt thou not deſpiſe.* After the revolt of *Jereboam* and the ten *Tribes* from the houſe of *David*; there were many devout and religious perſons in *Iſrael*, and yet we finde not that they uſed the outward form of worſhip, which was commanded. *Elias*

and *Elizeus* two great prophets in *Israel*, did they ever go up to *Hierusalem* to worship, *Obadiah* a great courtier in King *Ahabs* Court, and one that feared the Lord exceedingly; the seaven thousands which bowed not their knees to *Baal*, when came they up to the Temple to offer. A thing which doubtless they would have done, if they had understood the commandement of God in that behalf, to have been absolute indeed; if we live in places where true religious persons do resort, and assemble for the service of God, it were a sin to neglect it. But otherwise it is sufficient, if we keep us from the pollutions of that place to which we are restrain'd. *Quid juvat hoc nostros templis admittere mores?* why measure we God by our selves, and because we are led with gay shews, and goodly things, think it is so with God? *Seneca* reports, that a *Pantomimus*, a puppet player and dancer in *Rome*, because he pleased the *people* well, was wont to go up every day into the *Capitol*, and practised his Art, and dance before *Jupiter*, and thought he did the God a great pleasure. Beloved, in many things, we are like unto this puppet-player, and do much measure God by the People, by the World.

FINIS,

A Serm.

A SERMON

On 1. Sam. 24. 5.

And it came to paſſe afterward, that Davids heart ſmote him, becauſe he had cut off Sauls skirt.

TEmptation is the greateſt Occaſioner of a Chriſtians Honour: indeed like an Enemy it threatens and endeavours his ruine; but in the conqueſt of it conſiſts his Crown and Triumph. Were it poſſible for us to be at league and truce with this Enemy, or to be ἔξω βέλες, without danger of Gun-ſhot, out of its reach, like the *Candle* in the Goſpel that is *put under a buſhel*, the brighteſt part of our glory were quite obſcur'd. As *Maximus Tyrius* ſpake of *Hercules*, if you take from him τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς λῃςάς, *the ſavage beaſts that he ſlew*, and the Tyrants whom he ſuppreſt, his journeys and labours, ἀποτεμόντας τὰς ἀριςὰς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, *you lop and cut off the manifeſt Arms and Limbs of Hercules renown.* So, take from a Chriſtian his Temptations, his Perſecutions, his Contentions, remove him from the Devil, from the World, ἀποτεμόντας τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῷ Χριςιανῷ, you deprive him of the chief matter and ſubject of his glory. Take *Job* from the Dunghill, *David* from *Saul*, *Daniel* from the Lions, the bleſſed *Martyrs* from the rack, from the fire, from the ſword, and what are they more then other men. As *Sampſon* tells *Dalilah* in the Book of the Judges, *If my hair be cut, then my ſtrength will go from me, and I ſhall become weak, and like unto another man*; ſo Beloved, theſe things are as it were the hair wherein their ſtrength lay, ſhave that away, and they ſhall preſently become weak, and like unto other men. But Temptations are of

two ſorts: ſome are like profeſt and open Enemies, which proclaim open war againſt us, like *Goliah* they publikely come forth and challenge us. And ſuch are the outward Evils that befal us, Loſs of Goods, Sickneſs, Diſeaſe, Diſhonor, Infamy, Perſecutions, and the like. Others there are of a more ſecret, cloſe, and retired nature, like unto Traytors, that bear the behaviour and countenance of Friends; that eſpy out their advantage and ſet privily upon us: the moſt troubleſome kinde of Enemies, *per quos nec licet eſſe tanquam in bello paratos, nec tanquam in pace ſecuros*: with whom we can have neither peace nor war, and againſt whom we can neither be provided nor ſecure, theſe are our own corrupt Thoughts and Imaginations, which ſecretly lye in our hearts, and watch their times to ſet on us, as the Philiſtines did in *Dalilahs* chamber to ſurprize *Sampſon*. —For let a man but deſcend into himſelf, examine his own ſoul, take —as it were an Inventory of the paſsions, affections, thoughts of his own heart, look but what the number of them is, and let him make accompt of ſo many enemies. *Tot venena, quot ingenia; tot pernicies quod & ſpecies, tot dolores, quot colores*; as *Tertullian* rimes it. A ſort of Enemies by ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe that all thoſe outward enemies, of which I but now ſpake, cannot come ſo neer as to raſe our skin, or indanger one hair of our head, if theſe give them not way: from theſe *ut aſpis a vipera venenum*, as the Aſp borrows borrows poiſon from the Viper, do thoſe other Temptations borrow all their power and ſtrength to hurt us. For let us take a ſurvey of all the outward afflictions, miſeries and calamities, which have befallen all the Saints of God in Holy Scripture, and let us ſuppoſe them to be all ſet and bent againſt ſome one alone, yet notwithſtanding, as the *three children* in *Daniel* walkt in the midſt of the fire untoucht, or as our *Saviour* Chriſt paſs'd away through the midſt of the people, that were gathered together to miſchief him, and throw him down the Hill, ſo ſhall he be able to paſs from them all without any hurt or harm, if ſome diſcontented, or diſtruſtful, or deſpairing, or proud, or angry, or impure and luſtful thought do not betray him unto them, and as it were open a door, and let them in. *David* who is here the ſubject of my Text, had very much ado with both ſorts of enemies, and by his own experience found, that this latter rank of ſecret and privie enemies in ſtrength far ſurpaſſed the former. For whom neither the Lion:

Lion nor the Bear, nor *Goliah*, nor *Saul*, nor the Philiſtines could ever faſten upon, or drive to any inconvenience, one luſtful thought forced to Adultery and Murder, one proud conceit ſtirred up to number the people, and drew from God great inconveniences and plagues both upon himſelf and his Kingdom. How careful then ought we to be, and to ſtand on our guard, and keep a perpetual watch over our hearts, diligently to try and examine our thoughts, *Nunquam ſecuro triumphantur otio, ſed tantum ſollicito premuntur imperio, Auguſt.* Nor while we live ſhall we be able perfectly to maſter, or ſecurely to triumph over them: the only way to ſuppreſs and keep them down is, to have a perpetual and careful jealouſie of them. Now of this Religious care and watchfulneſs over our own thoughts, hath the Holy Ghoſt recorded for our uſe a notable example in theſe words, which but now I read, *And it came to paſſe, &c.*

To relate unto you at large the occaſion of theſe words, and the ſtory from whence they depend, were but to wrong you, for I cannot think ſo meanly of your knowledg in Scripture, as that any of you can be ignorant of ſo famous a paſſage. Yet thus much for the better opening of my way unto ſuch doctrines, as I ſhall draw from this Text, I will call back unto your memories, that *Saul* hunting after *David* to kill him, unwittingly ſtept into a Cave where *David* was; *David* having now his enemy in his hand, and opportunity to revenge himſelf, lets ſlip all thought of revenging, and only cuts off privily the lap of his Garment. For this deed ſo harmleſs ſo innocent the Scripture tells us that his heart ſmote him, that he ſuffered great anguiſh and remorſe in Conſcience for it. That which I will require you to note, is the tenderneſs of Conſcience, and ſtrange ſcrupulouſneſs in *David* for ſo ſmall an action; for it will yield us a great Leſſon. I ſay it appeareth not by Scripture, that *David* intended any miſchief or treaſon to *Saul*, or that he harbour'd in heart any diſloyal thought againſt him. This purpoſe of cutting off the lap of *Sauls* garment was no other then to purchaſe to himſelf a harmleſs and honourable teſtimony of his Innocency, and to prove unto *Saul*, that there was no likelihood that he ſought his blood, whom he ſpared, having him at ſo great an advantage. Yet notwithſtanding, as if the rending of *Sauls* garment, had been the wounding of *Sauls* body, or the ſhedding of his blood, *David* ſtands amazed, and is affrighted at

ſo honourable, ſo innocent a thought. *His heart ſmote him*, ſaith the Scripture. As men that have been at ſea, and indanger'd through the raging of windes, and tempeſts, and floods, when afterward the weather is cleared up, the windes allayed, the ſea ſmoothed, and all calm, yet ſcarcely dare they ſet ſail again, and truſt to ſo uncertain, ſo fickle an Element: ſo ſeems it to have fared with *David* in this place. He was a man ſubject to the ſame paſsions with other men, and doubtleſs, through the raging of unruly and miſorderly affections, he had many times been in danger of ſpiritual ſhipwrack; wherefore *licet in morem ſtagni fuſum æquor arrideat*, and though now he could diſcover no tempeſt in his heart, though the face of his thoughts were as ſmooth as glaſs; yet when he looks upon ſuch fair and calm affections, his heart miſgives him, and he dares not truſt them: *magnos hic campus montes habet, tranquilitas iſta tempeſtas eſt.* The care he hath over his own heart fills him with ſuſpitions, and ſtill he thinks, ſomething he knows not what, may be amiſs. But I muſt come unto the words. *And it came to paſs afterwards, &c.*

In theſe words we will conſider theſe three things.

1. The Perſon, *David*, *And Davids heart ſmote him.*

2. *Davids* Sollicitouſneſs, his care and jealouſy, very ſignificantly expreſſed in the next words; *His heart ſmote him.*

3. The cauſe of this his care and anxiety of minde in the laſt words, *Becauſe he had cut off Sauls skirt.*

In the firſt point, that is, in the *Perſon*, we may conſider his greatneſs, he was a *King* in expectation, and already anoynted. A circumſtance by ſo much the more conſiderable, becauſe that greatneſs is commonly taken to be a Priviledge to ſin: to be over carefull and conſcientious of our courſes and actions are accounted virtues for private *Perſons*, *Kings* have greater buſineſſes then to examine every thought that comes into their hearts. *Pater meus obliviſcitur ſe eſſe Cæſarem; ego vero memini me Cæſaris filiam.* It is the anſwer of *Julia Auguſtus* the *Emperour's* daughter, when ſhe was taxed for her too wanton and licentious living, and counſel'd to conform herſelf to the Sobriety and Gravity of her Father. *My Father*, ſaith ſhe, *forgets himſelf to be Cæſar the Emperour: but I remember my ſelf to be Cæſars daughter.* It was the ſpeech of *Enxius* the *Poet*, *Plebs in hoc Regi anteſtat loco; licet lachrimari plebi, Regi honeſte non licet*: Private men in this have

have a priviledge above *Princes*; but thus to do becomes not *Princes*: and if at any time theſe ſad and heavy hearted thoughts do ſupprize them, they ſhall never want comforters to diſpell them. When *Ahab* was for ſullenneſs fallen down upon his bed, becauſe *Naboth* would not yield him his Vineyard, *Jezabell* is preſently at hand and asks him, *Art thou this day King of Iſrael?* When *Ammon* pined away in the inceſtuous love of his Siſter *Thamar*, *Jonadab* his companion comes unto him, and asks, *why is the Kings Son ſad every day?* ſo that, as it ſeems great *Perſons* can never be much or long ſad. Yet *David* forgets his greatneſs, forgets his many occaſions, gives no ear to his companions about him, but gives himſelf over to a ſcrupulous and ſerious conſideration of an Action in ſhew and countenance but light.

Secondly, as the *Perſon* is great, ſo is the care and remorſe conceived upon the Conſideration of his action exceeding great, which is our Second part: And therefore the Holy Ghoſt expreſſes it in very ſignificant termes: *His heart ſmote him*, a phraſe in ſcripture uſed by the *Holy Ghoſt* when men begin to be ſenſible and repent them of ſome ſin. When *David* had commited that great ſin of numbring the people, and began to be apprehenſive of it, the Scripture tells us that *Davids* heart ſmote him, when he had commanded *Joab* to number the People. Wherefore by this ſmiting we may not here underſtand ſome light touch of Conſcience, like a grain of powder preſently kindled and preſently gone, for the moſt hard and flinty hearts many times yield ſuch ſparks as theſe. He that is moſt fleſht in ſin, commits it not without ſome remorſe; for ſin evermore leaves ſome ſcruple, ſome ſting, ſome lothſomneſs in the hearts of thoſe that are moſt inamour'd of it. But as *Simeon* tells the bleſſed Virgin in St. *Lukes* Goſpell, *Gladius pertranſibit animam tuam*; a ſword ſhall peirce through thine heart; ſo it ſeems to have been with *David*. It was not ſome light touch to raſe only the ſurface and skin of the heart, but like a ſword it pierced deep into him. To teach us one leſſon, that actions ſpotted, though but with the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſin, ought not careleſly to be paſt by, or ſlightly glanced at, but we ought to be deeply apprehenſive of them and beſtow grateſt care and conſideration upon them.

The third part of our Text containeth the cauſe of *Davids* remorſe in the laſt words. Becauſe he cut off *Sauls* skirt, in the twofor mer

parts we had to do with greatneſs: there was 1. a great *Perſon*, and 2. great *Remorſe*, can we in this third part find out any great cauſe or reaſon of this, ſo to make all parts proportionable? Certainly he that ſhall attentively read and weigh theſe firſt words of my Text, and know the ſtory, might think that *David* had committed ſome notable error, as ſome great oppreſſion, or ſome cruell ſlaughter, or ſome ſuch royall ſin, which none but *Kings* and great men can commit. But beloved this my Text ſeems to be like the *Windows* in *Solomons Temple*, broad within, but narrow without: or like a *Pyramide* large and ſpatious at the Baſis and ground of it, but ſmall and ſharp at the top. The *Perſon* and *Remorſe*, which are the Ground and ſubject of my Text both are great and large, but the cauſe which is the very crown and top of all, that is very ſmall, yea peradventure none at all. For whether it be that my ſelf accuſtomed to greater ſins, and now grown old in them, have loſt all ſenſe of ſmall and petty errours, or whether indeed there be no errour at all in this action of *David*, but only ſome fancy, ſome jealouſy ariſing out of that Godly and carefull watch he kept over all his wayes, or whatſoever elſe it was that cauſed this ſcruple or remorſe in *David*, it is a very hard matter to diſcover, and yet notwithſtanding that we may make more open paſs unto ſuch Doctrines as I ſhall raiſe out of theſe words, let us a little ſcan and conſider what it was in this action that made *David* thus ſtrangely ſcrupulous.

And firſt of all was it for that he had toucht and taken that which was none of his own, and therefore might ſeem to fall within compaſs of the Law againſt injury and purloyning? This ſeems not probable: for when afterwards in the like caſe he came upon *Saul* as he was ſleeping in the Camp, and took from him the ſpere and the pot of Water which ſtood at his head, we do not read that his heart ſmote him, and yet he took what was none of his.

Or 2ly. was it that he did wrong and diſhonour *Saul* in mangling his garment? Indeed the *Jews* have a tradition that this was the ſin of which *David* was here ſo ſenſible. And therefore ſay they, whereas we read in the firſt of *Kings*, that when *David* grew old they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat, this was the puniſhment of his ſin committed againſt *Saul*: God ſo providing that garments ſhould not be ſerviceable to him who had offended in wronging *Sauls* garments. But this I muſt let go as a fable.

Or

Or 3ly. was it that he had unadviſedly given way to ſome diſloyal thought, and at firſt reſolved to revenge himſelf on *Saul*, having him at the advantage, though afterward he repented? Indeed St. *Chryſoſtome* thinks ſo; and therefore on thoſe words at the latter end of the verſe next before my Text, *And David aroſe*, he notes ὅρα πῶς ἐγήγερται τῆς ὀργῆς ὁ χειμών· See you not, ſaith he, what a tempeſt of rage and anger begins to riſe in him; for he ſuppoſeth him to ariſe in heat and fury, with a reſolution for blood: but it pleaſed God in the way, to make him relent and change the purpoſe of revenge into the Action of cutting off his skirt: and that this ſmiting of *Davids* heart was nothing elſe but his repenting himſelf for giving over haſty entertainment to ſuch a rebellious thought. But beloved, *who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect?* *Davids* thoughts were known only to *God* and himſelf. Since therefore *God* gives not this as a reaſon of *Davids* remorſe, but another thing; far be it from me, that I ſhould wrong *David* ſo far, as to burden him with that, with which none but *God* can charge him. I rather chuſe to follow St. *Baſils* rule: νοείσθω ὡς γέγραπται, let the Scriptures be underſtood as they lye. The Scripture tells us, *Davids heart ſmote him*, becauſe he cut of the skirt of *Sauls* garment, and not becauſe he had conceiv'd againſt *Saul* any thought of blood. But what cauſe then ſhall we give of *Davids* remorſe, none other, Beloved, but that Religious and carefull jealouſie which ſtill he had over his own thoughts, which made him *pietatis affectu etiam quæ tuta ſunt formidare*, Hieron. To ſuſpect all things be they never ſo ſafe, and never to think himſelf ſecure from the contagion of ſin. It was with *David* as it is wont to be with men that are often troubled with ſickneſſes and diſeaſes, *ſuſpicionibus inquietantur, medicique jam ſani manum porrigunt, & omnem calorem corporis ſui calumniantur*, Senec. Diſquiet themſelves with every little alteration in their Bodies, repair to the *Phyſician* when they are well, and think every heat to be an Ague fit. *Horum corpus non eſt parum ſanum, ſed ſanitati parum aſſuevit*: theſe men are not ſick, but they do not know what it is to be in health. In the ſame ſtate is *David*, he had been often infected with Spirituall weakneſs and diſeaſe, and therefore he ſuſpects every motion of his heart, and takes every thought to be a temptation. *Hujus animus non erat parum ſanus, ſed ſanitati parum aſſuevit*, his Soul was not ſick of any ſin, but he did not know what it was to be in Spirituall health.

For

For us and for our uſe hath the *Holy Ghoſt* regiſtred this example of ſcruple and tenderneſs of conſcience. Let us returne to our ſelves and ſee what leſſons we may learn hence for our behoof. Men uſually are either grown old in ſin, & therefore their eyeſight is decayed, they cannot eaſily ſee and diſcerne ſmaller ſins: or elſe as *Hagar* in the Book of *Geneſis*, laid *Iſmael* afar off from her, that ſhe might not be griev'd with the ſight of him: ſo we labour to lay our ſins *far* out of kenn, that the memory and ſight of them might not exaſperate and trouble us. For the cure of both theſe infirmityes I have borrowed out of the Lords treaſury a Spectacle or *Optick Glaſs*, which if we uſe it, will reſtore our decayed eyeſight and quicken and make us read our ſins in the ſmalleſt print; and let them ly never ſo farr from us, yet will it preſent them unto us in their true quantity and greatneſs. Towards the better uſe of which Spirituall Glaſſe, one leſſon would I eſpecially commend unto you; to be perpetually Jealous and ſuſpicious of your thoughts, and to be quick-ſented, eaſily to trace the footing of ſin, to be eaſily ſenſible of it, when we think our ſelves to have done amiſs: a leſſon naturally ariſing, as I take it, out of *Davids* example, commended unto us in this place. Now how abſolutely behoofefull it is for us to hold a perpetuall Watch over our hearts, and be jealous of ſuch thoughts as ſpring out of them it will appear by theſe Reaſons.

First, becauſe that ſin is of ſuch a fly inſinuating nature, that it will privily creep in, and cloſely cleave to our thoughts and intents, though we perceive it not. For as waters though of themſelves moſt pure, will reliſh and ſavour of the Earth and ſoyl through which they paſſe. So thoughts in themſelves good, paſſing through the corrupt and evill ground of our hearts, cannot but receive ſome tincture, ſome dye, ſome reliſh from them. When *David* had an intent to build *God* an houſe, he doubtleſs conceived no otherwiſe of this his intent, then of a religious and honourable purpoſe, and in outward appearance there was no cauſe, why he ſhould doubt of *Gods* acceptance yet we ſee this purpoſe of his miſliked by *God*, and rejected, and the reaſon given, *quia vir ſanguinum es tu, becauſe thou art a man of blood.* How ſhall we then ſecure our ſelves of any thought, if ſuch an intent as this, ſo favouring of Zeal, of Sanctification, of love unto the glory of *God*, have ſuch a flaw in it as makes it unprofitable; and how neceſſary is it that we bring all our immaginations and intents to the fire and

and to the refining pot, ſo throughly to try them, & bring them to their higheſt point of purity & perfection. Be it peradventure, that the action be in it ſelf good; if it be lyable to any ſuſpicion of evill, it is enough to blaſt it. It is the *Holy Ghoſts* rule given by the bleſſed *Apoſtle*, that *we abſtain from all ſhew and appearance of evill*, that we refrain as much as poſſible from all ſuch actions, as are capable of miſconſtruction. What is more lawfull, then for the labourer to have his hire, then for thoſe that labour in the *Goſpell*, to live by the *Goſpell*? Yet we ſee St. *Paul* refuſed this Liberty, and choſe rather to work with his own hands; only for this reaſon, becauſe he would not give occaſion to any, that would miſinterpret his Action, to live at others coſt & feed on the ſweat of others brows. What befalls *Princes* many times and great *Perſons* that have abuſed their Authority, the people riſe and ſuppreſs them, deface their ſtatues, forbid their coyn, put away all things that bear any memory of them: So ſeems our bleſſed *Apoſtle* to deal here: look what actions they be which bear any inſcripton, any image & title, any ſhew, or ſpot of ſin, theſe hath he thought good even to baniſh & quite prohibit. Our prophane ſtories tell us, that when *Julius Caſar* had divorc'd his wife; being asked why he did ſo, ſince nothing was brought againſt her to prove her diſhoneſt, his anſwer was, that *ſhe that will be Wife of Caſar muſt not only be free from diſhonеſty, but from all ſuſpicion of it*. Beloved, St. *Paul* tells the *Corinthians* that *he had eſpouſed them unto one Husband, that he might deliver them as a chaſt Virgin unto Chriſt*. And *God* every where in Scripture compairs his Church unto an eſpouſed wife, & himſelf unto an Husband, a Husband far more jealous then ever *Caſar* was. How carefull then muſt that Soul be, that intends to Marry it ſelf to ſuch a jealous Husband, to abſtain not only from all pollution of ſin, but from all ſuſpicion of it. Laſt of all it is *Tertullians* ſpeech: *Quanto facilius illicita timebit, qui etiam licita verebitur*. It is wiſdom ſometimes to ſuſpect and ſhun things that are lawfull. For there are many actions in themſelves good which yet to many men become occaſions of ſin and ſcandall. For it is with our Actions as it is with our meats & drinks. As, divers meats fit not divers conſtitutions of Body; ſo all Actions accord not well with all Tempers of mind. As therfore what Diſh it is we eaſily Surfeit of, though it be otherwiſe good it is wiſdome totally to abſtain from: ſo look what actions they be in which we find our ſelves prone to ſin, it is good ſpirituall *Phyſick* to

uſe abſtinence & quite to leave them. For if our *Savior* command us to *pluck out our eyes, and pare off our hands*, if once they become unto us cauſe of ſin, how much more then muſt we prune away all inward thoughts, all outward circumſtances, which become occaſion of offence unto us.

A 2d. reaſon, why I would perſwade you to entertain a jealouſie of all your thoughts and actions, is a naturall overcharitable affection, which I ſee to be in moſt men unto their own wayes, and which is ſtrange; the worſe they are, the more are we naturally enclined to favour them. The Reaſon is becauſe the worſe they are, the more they are our own. When queſtion was ſometime made, *Why good hearbs grow ſo ſparingly, and with great labour and pains, where as weeds grow apace without any culture and tilling*; it is was anſwered, that the earth was a *naturall Mother* to the one, to the other ſhe was a *Step-Mother*; the one ſhe brought forth of her ſelf, to the other ſhe was conſtrain'd. Beloved, it is with our hearts as it is with the Earth, the naturall fruit of them is weeds and evill thoughts, unto them our hearts are as mothers, *injuſta vireſcunt*, they ſpring up in us of themſelves without any care or manuring: but as for good thoughts if they be found in our hearts, they are not naturall, they are ſet there by a high hand, they are there by a kind of ſpirituall inoculation and grafting, as men graffe *Apples* and kind fruits upon Thornes and Crabs. No marvail then, if like choice herbs and fruits they grow ſo tenderly, and need ſo much care and cheriſhing. As therefore *Parents*, though their own children be very deformed, yet love them more then others, though more beautifull: ſo corrupt and evill thoughts are naturally dearer unto us then good, becauſe we are as Mothers unto them, to the reſt we are but Stepdames. Two notable Fruits there are of this overcharitableneſs to our own actions. Firſt a willingneſs that we have to flatter, to deceive and abuſe our own ſelves by pretences and excuſes. There is a plain, a downright, and as it were a Countrey reprobate, one that ſees his ſin and cares not much to excuſe it, and is content to go on, and as it were in ſimplicity to caſt himſelf away. There is a more witty, more refined, and as it were a Gentlemanlike reprobate, one that ſtrives to ſmooth and guild over his ſin, to deceive others and himſelf with excuſes and apologies, μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου, καὶ μηχανῆς, καὶ σοφισμάτων ἀπόνοιαν, as *St. Baſil* ſpeaks, to take great pains, and with the expenſe of a great

great deal of wit and art to damn himſelf. When *Saul*, being ſent againſt *Amalek*, had ſpared *Agag* and the beſt and fatteſt of the prey, at *Samuels* coming to viſit him, how doth he wipe his mouth, as if all had been well, and trimly compoſes himſelf to entertain him, *Bleſſed art thou of the Lord, I have performed the commandment of the Lord.* And when *Samuell* had ſhewed him his errour, how quickly hath He his excuſe at his fingers ends: *We have ſpared the beſt of the Sheep and of the Oxen to Sacrifice unto the Lord, Et Deo adulatur & ſibi lenocinatur*, as *Tertulian* ſpeakes, he thinks to gull Almighty God with fair and flattering pretences, and becomes a baud to his own vice, *nimium idem omnes fallimur*, it is the common errour of us all, and in moſt of our Actions we do as *Saul* did, endeavour to put tricks upon our ſelves. Beloved, were we not partiall, but rigid cenſurers of our own thoughts, this corrupt fruit would quickly rot and fall away. Again their is a 2d. fruit ſpringing out of this favour and dotage on our own actions, an errour as common though, not ſo dangerous, for we are content many times to acknowledg that ſomething is amiſs in our actions, we will confeſs them to be ſins, but we account of them as little ſins, ſins of a leſſer ſize, not ſo fearfull, eaſily pardonable. There is a ſinner who by committing ſome great and and heinous crime (*crimen devoratorium ſalutis*, as *Tertulian* calls it, ſuch a ſin as with open mouth devours ſalvation) doth as it were with one ſtep leap into Hell; and of this kind of ſinners the number is fewer. But abundance there are, who avoiding great and heinous ſins, by committing leſſer ſins, as they think, can be content to go by degrees and as it were ſtep by ſtep into Hell. Beloved let us a little put on the ſpectacle I but now ſpake of, that we may ſee whither any ſin be ſo ſmall, as we take it. I know there is difference of ſins. Our Saviour tells us that there is a beam and there is a mote: but withall this I know, that the beſt way to keep us from ſin, is *minima pro maximis cavere*, to loath even the leaſt, as if it were the greateſt; if we look through this Glaſs it will make us think every mote a beam. Sins in themſelves are unequall, but in regard of us and of our endeavour to avoid them, they are all equall. *Fly from evill*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*: he tells us not, that there is one greater evill from which we muſt *fly*, and another leſs from which tis enough if we do but *go*: but he bids us fly, and to make haſte alike from all. To

think that a ſin is leſs then it is, may be dangerous for it makes us the leſs carefull to avoid it: but to miſtake on the other hand, and think a ſin greater then it is, this is a very profitable errour. *Utinam ſic ſemper erraremus*; would God we did alwaies thus erre; for beſides that there is no danger in it, it makes us more fearfull to commit ſin. Our Saviour reprehends the Phariſees in the Goſpell becauſe they could ſtrain at *gnats* but ſwallow *Camells*, but yet it is true, that men learne at length to ſwallow *Camells* by ſwallowing *Gnats* at firſt. *Nemo repente fuit turpiſſimus*, no ſinner ſo hardy as to ſet upon the greateſt ſins at firſt. The way by which men train up themſelves to the committing groſs and heinous ſins, is by not being at firſt conſcientious of leſſer ſins, *Et ſane neſcio*, ſaith *Paulinus* in St. *Hierom*, *an poſſimus leve aliquod peccatum dicere quod in Dei contemptum admittitur*: who dares call any ſin little, that is committed againſt God; ſmall contempts againſt great Princes are accounted great overſights; for what is wanting in the thing is made up in the worth of the Perſon. How great a ſin then is the ſmalleſt contempt that is done againſt God? *Prudentiſſimus ille eſt, qui non tam conſiderat quid juſſum ſit, quam illum, qui juſſerit; nec quantitatem imperii, ſed imperantis cogitat dignitatem.* It is the beſt wiſdome for us, not ſo much to conſider, what is commanded, as who it is that commandeth it; to conſider, I ſay, not the ſmallneſs of the Law, but the greatneſs of the Lawgiver. Sins comparatively may be counted greater or leſſer, but abſolutely none can be counted ſmall. To conclude then this point; *Charity ſuſpecteth no harm* ſaith St. *Paul*: true, but we muſt note, that ſome vertues in us concern our ſelves, as *Faith*, *Hope*, *Temperance*, and the like: ſome vertues concern not our ſelves, but others; but ſuch an one is *Charity*. Charity that wills Chriſtians to think well of all others, can have little room upon our ſelves. Let us then make uſe of this Charity towards our Neighbours; hope the beſt of all their actions; but let us take heed how we be overcharitably minded to our ſelves. *Cæſar* profeſt that he would *rather dy then, ſuſpect his friends*; and he ſped accordingly: for he dyed by the treachery of thoſe Friends whom he ſuſpected not: Let us take heed how we be overkind unto our own thoughts how we think it an errour to be too ſuſpicious of them. ἀ οὐ τέκνον: peradventure thoſe Sons of our own hearts whom we leaſt ſuſpect, will in the end prove thoſe who ſhall betray us. But I come to a third

reaſon

Reaſon. A third reaſon why I ſhall adviſe you to this jealouſy over your own thoughts, is the difficulty of diſcovering them betime, and ing of what ſpirit they are. For our heart is like that Field in the *Goſpell*, in which the *Husbandman ſowes good Corne, and the enemy ſowes tares. God* infuſeth good thoughts, and the Devill ill. Now as weeds many times at their firſt budding are hardly known from good hearbs; ſo at the firſt ſpringing and budding of our thoughts a hard matter it is, to know the weed from the good hearb, the Corne from the tare. As *Judah* in the Book of *Geneſis*, *knew not Tamar*, till the fruit of his ſin committed with her began to ſhew it ſelf: ſo till the fruits of our thoughts and purpoſes begin to appear, except we ſearch very narrowly, we can ſcarcely diſcover of what rank they are. *Tunc ferrum quod latebat in fundo ſupernatabat aquæ, & inter palmarum arbores myrrhæ amaritudo reperta eſt.* Then the iron that lay in the bottom, will ſwim at the top of the water, and among the pleaſant *Palmtrees* will be found the bitterneſs of mirrh. We read in the 2d. of *Samuell* that when the Arke was brought from *Kirithjearim*, the Oxen that drew the cart ſhook it, and *Uzzah* reaching out his hand to ſave it from falling, for his good ſervice was laid dead in the place. Doubtleſs *Uzzah* his accompanying the Ark was a ſign of his love unto it: his love unto it begat in him a fear to ſee it in danger: his fear to ſee it in danger bred in him a deſire to keep it from danger. See beloved, what a number of *Golden thoughts* are here: yet as we read in the book of *Job*, when the *ſervants of God came and ſtood before him, Satan alſo came and ſtood amongſt them*: So in this *chorus* and quire of theſe Angelicall thoughts the Devill finds a place to reſt himſelf in. For this deſire of *Uzzah* to ſave the Ark from danger, made him forget what was written, *that none ſhould touch the Ark ſave only the Prieſts*: the breach of which precept brought that fearfull judgment upon him. You ſee Beloved that though the courſe of our thoughts be like *Jacobs Ladder*, and God himſelf be at one end of them, yet Satan, if he can, will be at the other. Let us learn by this example of *Uzzah*, betimes to diſcover our thoughts, and not to ſuffer them to grow till their fruit betray them. Indeed our *Saviour* hath given us a rule, *You ſhall know them by their fruits*; but we muſt take heed that we extend not this rule to far. *Uzzah* felt the fruit of his thoughts to his own coſt. It is never good trying concluſions there, *ubi pœna ſtatim ſequitur errorem.*

Let us learn to decipher our thoughts then, when we may do it without danger, whilſt they are in *ſemine* whilſt they are yet but budding and peeping above ground, *donec Sarculo tantum opus eſt, non Securi*, whilſt yet there is only need of the weedhook, and not of the hatchet.

¶ A fourth reaſon yet there is, for which I would counſel you to hold a ſtrict hand over your thoughts, and it is, becauſe that from outward ſins we can better preſerve our ſelves, then from our ſins in thought. Beloved, there is a *tranſeunt* ſin, and there is an *imminent* ſin, there is a ſin that is outwardly acted by the ſervice of the body; there is a ſin that requires not the help of the body, but is committed inwardly in the very thought and Soul, a ſpeculative or an intellectual ſin. Outward ſins are many wayes paſs'd by, means may be wanting, company may hinder, time and place may be inconvenient; but for ſpeculative ſins, or ſins in thought, all times, all occaſions, all places are alike: ᾧ τις τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ κόσμου ἐνοικίων, ſaith Saint *Baſil*: A man, ſaith he, of great gravity and countenance ſits in the midſt of the market-place, with many hundreds about him, and looking upon him, yet notwithſtanding this man, ἀπέδραμε τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας τόπον, καὶ ἔνδον τῇ φαντασίᾳ τὰ σπουδαζόμενα, even this man in the middeſt of all the company fancies to himſelf what he deſires, and in his imaginations goes unto the place of ſin, or rather retires into his own heart, and there he findes place and means to commit ἀμάρτυρον ἁμαρτίαν, a ſin that hath no witneſs but God. If we retire to our *private Chambers*, theſe ſins will follow us thither, and as *Baanah* and *Rechab* did by *Iſboſeth Sauls* ſon, they will finde us out upon our beds, and ſlay us there. If we go to the *Church*, they will finde us out there, and as *Adramelech* and *Sharezer* ſlew *Sennacherib* whilſt he was worſhipping his God; they will ſet upon us even in the midſt of our holyeſt meditations and prayers: neither Chamber nor Church, no place ſo private, none ſo holy, that can give us Sanctuary, or ſhelter us from them. S. *Hierom* confeſſes thus much of himſelf, that when he had forſaken the world, all outward occaſions of ſin, and gone into the Deſart, and ſhut himſelf up in a poor Cell, and macerated his body νηστείαις, καυσώσαις, with watchings, with faſtings, and perpetual prayers and religious exerciſe, yet could he not be ſecure from them. *Pallebant ora jejuniis, & mens deſideriis æſtuabat in frigido corpore*: his body was now grown pale, and meager, and cold, but

but yet his heart burnt with unlawful deſires. Again they are ſins of quick and eaſy diſpatch, they are done ἀχείρως, ἀπόνως, ἀπραγμάτως, as S. *Baſil* notes; in a moment of time, without labour of body, without care of minde: One wanton look makes us guilty of Adultery, one angry conceit guilty of Murder, one covetous conceit guilty of Robbery. Whatſoever is outwardly committed either with difficulty of circumſtance, or labour of body, or danger of Law, that is inwardly committed in the ſoul without any trouble at all: Thirdly conſider but the ſtrength of your thoughts, and you will ſee there is great reaſon to keep them low; for there was no man yet that ever was foil'd but by them, and not by the outward acting of ſin. For the outward action is but the *Cortex*, the bark of the ſin: but the very body and ſubſtance of ſin is the wicked thought. *Beware of men*, ſaith our Saviour, when he gave his Apoſtles counſel how to provide for their ſafety in times of outward danger: but if we will provide againſt inward dangers, we ſhall not need to beware of men, or of any outward force whatſoever. Let every man beware of himſelf, for in this caſe every man is his own greateſt enemy. To draw then to a concluſion: That ſins of thoughts prevail not againſt us, our way is by a jealous care firſt to prevent them; and to this hath the greateſt part of my diſcourſe hitherto tended. Secondly if we have ſuffered them to gain a little ground upon us, let us betimes take the reins into our own hands and pull them back again, and caſt out our Adverſary, whilſt he is yet weak. πιᾶλαι γὰρ τὸ ἅγιον ἐν ψυχῇ φίλτατον ἀνίσταλαι, ſaith S. *Chriſoſt.* ſuch are the ſouls of holy men: their recovery is ſo quick, that they may ſeem to have riſen before they fell. It is a great ſigne of ſpiritual life in us to be quickly ſenſible of the firſt track and footing of ſin. For as bodies of the beſt and pureſt complexion have their ſenſes quickeſt; ſo that ſoul which ſooneſt perceives the firſt ſent of ſin, is of the Divineſt temper. Our books tell us, that *Dionyſius* the Tyrant was grown ſo groſs and fat, that though men thruſt bodkins into him, he could not feel it. Beloved, there is a ſinner like unto this *Dionyſius*. *David* tells us of him, when he deſcribes unto us a ſinner *whoſe heart is fat as brawn.* That we fall not therefore into that like ἀναλγησίαν, ſtupidity and ſenſeleſneſs, our way is to *catch thoſe young Foxes, and ſtrangle them in the neſt*: *Nolo ſinas cogitationem creſcere*, ſaith S. *Hierom*, ſuffer not your thoughts to encreaſe and gather ſtrength upon

upon you. For as the man that touches only at *hot iron*, and ſtayes not on it, burns not his hand, ſo the firſt glances of evil thoughts harm us not; the harm is, if by conſent, though never ſo little, you ſtay upon them. To be free from all onſet of evil thoughts is a matter impoſſible, whilſt we have theſe hearts of fleſh. *Ille laudatur qui ut cœperit cogitare ſordida, ſtatim interficit cogitata, & allidit ad petram, petra autem eſt Chriſtus.* That man is praiſe worthy, who as ſoon as any unclean thought, any childe of *Babylon* is born in his heart, ſtraigheway ſtrangles it in the birth, and daſhes it againſt the rock, which Rock is Chriſt. Thus, &c.

LETTERS

Mr. *HALES*

LETTERS

From the SYNOD of DORT

TO THE

Right Honourable Sr. *DUDLEY CARLTON*,

Lord Embaſſador, &c.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

MAy it pleaſe your Honor: Wee arrived at *Dort* this laſt night betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock; our paſſage was without any impediment at all, and whereſoever we were to take boat ſtill we found ſome ready to put off, as if they had waited our coming. Immediately upon my arrivall I went to My Lord Biſhop, and aſſoon as I had done my meſſage unto him, I forthwith went to *Monſieur Bogermannus*, who humbly thanks your Honour for your great courteſie towards him, and promiſes to acquaint your Lordſhip by me with whatſoever paſſes in the Synod: had he known of ſo convenient meanes of writing to your Lordſhip, I ſuppoſe he would have written: but when I ſpake with him I knew not ſo much my ſelf. *Feſtus Hommius* and *Polyander* I have not yet ſeen, and it will be the afternoon ere I ſhall ſpeak with them, becauſe this morning they have a ſitting. Whatſoever hath paſt in the Synod formerly, your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand by a packet from my Lord Biſhop; whatſoever ſpeeches or other paſſages are to be copyed I ſhall this afternoon get of Mr. *Preſident*, and I will not fail to ſend your Honour the tranſcripts of them, when *Daniel* returns. What ſhall be diſputed of or decided in the next Seſſions at the Synod I will at large inform your Lordſhip by the next meſſenger, mean time I humbly take my leave.

Your Lordſhips Chaplain,
and bounden in all Duty,
Jo: Hales.

From Dort *this* 14/24. *of* Novemb. 1618.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

YOur Honour shall here receive inclosed an *index* of all the acts of the Synod since the beginning, till the $\frac{14}{26}$. of this present. It is not that which I required, but is so much as *Festus Hommius* (whose writing it is) could spare your Lordship. My desire was to obtain not only the bare conclusions, but the whole manner of proceeding, with all particulars propounded and concluded in the *Synod*: but it seems this was thought *nimis grande postulatum*. If I can come so far to perfit my notes of all the former sessions, as that *I* shall be able to expresse them in form as I did the session on Saterday last, and by Gods help will express the following sessions, I will in time acquaint your Lordship with it. Mean while I come to the session on Monday morning, the $\frac{14}{26}$. of this present.

It had been in some of the Former sessions determined that there should be chosen six Divines for the *Translation of the Bible*, three for the Old Testament, and three for the New with the *Apocrypha*: and likewise Revisors, one out of every Province, to whom the work being doue should be brought to be revised and censur'd. In this present *Session* they proceed to the choice of them. The manner of election was by *Scrutiny*: the Deputies of every Province in *Scripto* exhibiting one. The Scrutators were two of the Seculars, *D. Simon Schottus*, Secretary of Middleburrough, and President this week, and *Martinus Gregorii*, these calculated the voices and pronounced the election. And first for the translation of the Old Testament were chosen these three, *Iob. Bogermannus*, *Guil. Baudaritus*, and *Gerson Bucerus*: for the translation of the New, were chosen *Iac. Rolandus*, *Hermannus Fauckelius*, and *Petrus Cornelii*. From these they proceed to the nomination of the revisors. Here arose a doubt concerning the province of *Utrecht*. For because they are equally divided three Contra-Remonstrants, and three Remonstrants, they could not agree upon the nomination of a Revisor for that Province, which thing bred a demurre in the Synod. The *Præses* required the judgment of the *Synod*, what they thought fit to be done. Some thought they might be altogether past by. For there would be Revisors enough, though that Province chose none. Others thought fit it should be deferr'd till the end of the Synod, and then some one of that Province should be chosen *communibus suffragiis totius Synodi*. A third sort determined that it should be defer'd till that Province were reconciled in it self, (which it was hoped would be at the end of the Synod) and then they should name some one of their Province to be approved by the rest of the Translators and Revisors; and this sentence past for currant. So that for the present there

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is no Reviſor for the Province of *Utrecht*. Another doubt yet was moved for one of the Provinces, had named two *paribus ſuffragiis*: the queſtion was who ſhould ſtand. It pleaſed the Synod to put it to Lots. And ſo the *Præſes* wrote their names in two little Tickets of paper, each by it ſelf, and rould them up, and deliverd them to *Martinius Gregorius*; that which he took, ſtood, that which he refuſed, was preſently torne. The *Reviſors* for the *Old* Teſtament were theſe, *ex Geldria Ant. Tyſius*; *ex Suyd-Hollandia Io. Polyander*: *ex North-Holl. P. Plancius. ex Zelandia Iod. Larenus*: *ex Friſia Sibrandus Lubbertus*: *ex Tranſiſulania Iac. Revius*: *ex Groning. D. Gomarus*: *ex Drentia Onias Boethus*. The Reviſors for the *New* Teſtament were theſe. *Ex Geldria Seb. Dammannus*: *ex Suyd-Holl. Feſtus Hommius*: *ex Northoll. Goſwinus Geldorpius*: *ex Zelandia Ant. Walæus*, *ex Friſia Bern. Fullenius*, *ex Tranſiſulania Jo. Langius*, *ex Groning. Ubbo Emmius*, *ex Drentia Jo. Cuperus*. It was farther enacted, that if any of the Tranſlators ſhould die, or by Sickneſs became unable for the Service, that then he that was next him in number of voices in the Scrutiny ſhould ſucceed in his place: If any of the Reviſors ſhould die, or be ſick, power was given to the *Præſes*, the two Aſſeſſors, and the two Scribes to depute another in his roome: and ſo this Seſſion concluded; "*in which though little was done, yet was it long adoing, by reaſon of the* "*Scrutiny.*

Upon Tueſday the $\frac{13}{23}$ of this preſent, the Deputies met in the morning, where the firſt thing that was propoſed was concerning thoſe of *Drent*. For whereas the day before they had named two Reviſors for the Tranſlation, they now upon better advice require to be excuſed in that behalf, becauſe in their Province the Belgick Tongue was not well known. Which Petition of theirs was accepted. In the ſecond place it was thought good, that ſince all the buſineſs concerning the Tranſlation was determined of, there ſhould be a repetition made in the Synod of all that had paſs'd about it: to this purpoſe, that if any thing were either omitted or miſrelated, it might be rectified: forthwith followed a Narration of all that had been done, where ſome ſmall exceptions not worth relating were ſtood upon. In the third place was propoſed the defect of the *Afternoon Sermons* and *Catechizing*, eſpecially in the Countrey Villages; and the Synod was moved to deliver it ſelf concerning Remedies of this Defect. What had been heretofore decreed in ſome of their Synods concerning this matter was publickly read. The Impediments were, Firſt the negligence of the Paſtors; Secondly Combinations, that is double Benefices, when men having two Cures could not ſufficiently attend both: Thirdly the difficulty of reclaiming the Country people on the Sundayes either from the Sports, or from their Work. The Synod beginning to conſider of means to cut

off theſe abuſes, *Feſtus Hommius* amongſt other things complain'd that through the negligence of the Remonſtrants, it came that Catechizing was ſo much decay'd; which words of his, it is thought, will be an occaſion of ſome choler, though for the preſent they paſs'd uncontroll'd. Many delivered their opinions how the forementioned hinderances of Afternoon Sermons and Catechizing might be removed. Firſt by imploring the help of the States General, that it would pleaſe them by their Authority to prohibit that ordinary prophanation of the Sabbath by working or playing: Secondly by requiring the like help of the particular Magiſtrate in every Town and Village: Thirdly by taking away thoſe Combinations: Fourthly by providing of ſufficient Schole-Maſters in every Village, who ſhould not only teach Grammar, but inſtruct Youths in the principles of Religion: Fifthly that the Paſtors ſhould not omit afternoon Sermons by reaſon of the negligence of their Auditors, but ſhould perform them, though they brought to the Church none but their own Family: that the Paſtors and Deacons and Seniors ſhould deal with their Friends and Acquaintance and bring them to Church with them. Sixthly that if any Paſtor neglected to perform this Duty, he ſhould be ſubject to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. Seventhly that the Deputies of other Nations ſhould be requeſted to make overture of their Cuſtoms in this behalf. Laſtly that diligent enquiry ſhould be made throughout all the *Claſſes*, whether Catechizing and Afternoon Sermons were obſerved. It was decreed that in every Pariſh there ſhould be two Sermons every Sunday, of which that in the Afternoon was to be Catechetical. That the Miniſters ſhould give good example by bringing their own Family to Church; that the help of the Magiſtrate ſhould be implored; that Combinations ſhould be taken away. When all was done, then was that requir'd which ſhould have been done afore: the Deputies of other Nations were deſired to deliver their Cuſtoms in this behalf. Where firſt my Lord Biſhop ſhewed that with us in *England* the Magiſtrate impoſed a pecuniary Mulct upon ſuch as did abſent themſelves from divine duties; which pecuniary Mulct generally prevail'd more with our people, then any pious admonitions could. Thoſe of the *Palſgrave*'s Countrey ſhewed that each Sunday they had two Sermons, and ſuch as were abſent, were firſt admoniſh't by the Clergie, and if this ſufficed not, they required the help of the Civil Magiſtrate. Thoſe of *Geneva* told us, that in the Churches in their Cities they had every Sunday four Sermons, &c. Thoſe of *Breme* that they had three Sermons, of which one was Catechetical; and to avoid prophanation of the Sabbath, it was not lawful to celebrate any Marriage-feaſt, or ſuch like upon the Sunday, till ſix a clock in the Evening. Many other things of this nature were related, of which a great deal I could not underſtand

ſtand. When all had ſpoken, the *Præſes* told them that this propoſal was not made becauſe in the *Belgick* Churches there had not been order taken for Catechizing and *Sermons*, but becauſe the Laws formerly made in this behalf were neglected: and that now means was thought of to bring them in force again. And ſo they brake up.

I received your Honors Letters of the $\frac{14}{24}$ of this preſent, in which your Honour requires to be informed of ſuch Propoſals as *Epiſcopius* lately made in behalf of the *Arminian* Party. The thing is this. Shortly after that the Letters of Citation were ſent to the *Arminians*, *Epiſcopius* with other of the Remonſtrants came privately to the Deputies of the States, and exhibited a Remonſtrance, in which they required eſpecially theſe things. *Firſt* that all of their Party throughout the Provinces might be allowed to make one Body, and out of it depute ſuch as they thought good, whom they might ſend to the Synod to plead in their behalf. *Secondly* that it might be lawful for them inſtead of ſome of thoſe who are written unto, to ſubſtitute others. Thirdly that *Utenbogart* and *Grevinchovius* might have ſafe Conduct and free acceſs to the *Synod*. The Delegates immediately ſent for the *Præſes*, the two *Aſſeſſors* and the two *Scribes*, and required their opinion in this buſineſs. For the firſt point, the Clergie men thought it not to be granted, as being fear'd would be prejudicial to the *Belgick* Churches. The Deputies for the *Seculars* anſwered, that they had given *Epiſcopius* this anſwer. For the two later, the Clergie thought that if it pleas'd the *Seculars* it might be done. Reply was made by the *Seculars*, that they were men infamous, tumultuous, on whom the Church cenſure, for *Grevinchovius* had extended, and therefore they would permit them no place in the *Synod*. So was *Epiſcopius* and his Company diſmiſs'd. "This was a thing *done* "*only in private*: the *Synod* had no notice of it, neither is it recorded "in any publick Regiſter. What more paſs'd between the *Seculars* and "the Remonſtrants at this meeting is not known, and *the Clergie know* "*no more then it pleaſed the Seculars to impart*. Of this I heard nothing, "till by reaſon of your Lordſhips Letters I enquired into it.

Whilſt the *Synod* was ſitting on Tueſday morning, there came in Newes of the death of one of their Company, *Henricus ab Hell*, *Senior* of the Church of *Zutphan*, who died in the time of the Seſſion. I am deſirous to know whether my Letters upon Munday containing the *Saterday* Seſſion came to your Lordſhips hands. I intended them by way of *Roterdam*, but *Daniel* tells me he delivered them to a Gentleman that went immediately for the *Hague*, marie what he was he knew not, this hath made me a little jealous. I beſeech your Honour, by the next that comes from you hither, by word of mouth to let me know. Mr *Præſet*, *Feſtus Hommius*, *Polyander*, *Tronchinus* of *Geneva* requir'd me to remember

member their Love and ſervice to your Honour: and ſo for this time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort *this* $\frac{18}{28}$ *of* Novemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

UPon Saterday, the day after my coming to Dort, I went to *Feſtus Hommius*, and delivered him your Honours Letters, upon peruſal of which, he liberally promiſed me an *Index* of all whatſoever had paſt in the Synod until my coming to town. The time of making his promiſe good was Sunday morning. When I ſaw it came not at the time, after dinner I wrote a little note unto him, to put him in minde of his promiſe, but yet I heard nothing of him. I ſuppoſe this falls out by reaſon of his multiplicity of buſineſs, not that he would ſleight your Lordſhip; though I remember in the ſpeech that paſs'd between him and me, he told me that their paſs'd among the brethren of the Synod a conſent *de non eliminandis, &c.* of not divulging of any paſſage till all was done, which I interpreted as ſpoken only upon the by, not with any intent of hindring any intelligence which ſhould be given your Honour. I dealt with Mr. *Præſes* and with *Feſtus* for a Copie of *Martinus Gregorii* his oration: the anſwer from them both was the ſame, that he would not at any hand be intreated to deliver a Copie of it, no not ſo much as the ſumme of it: whether it was becauſe of ſome matter that was in it, as that he ſpake ſomewhat roundly in diſgrace of the *Spanyard*, or that the Politicks have ſome end in it, or that he himſelf is deſirous to have it thought that he delivered it only *ex tempore*, or for what other reaſon I know not. As concerning what hath paſs'd in the Synod, till I hear farther from *Feſtus*, I will acquaint your Honour with what paſt there ſince my coming.

On Saterday the $\frac{14}{24}$ of this preſent, in the Morning the Deputies met, *and debated ſome things of no great moment*, concerning their intended *TRANSLATION of the BIBLE*. The firſt thing propoſed was, whether the name JEHOVAH ſhould be retain'd untranſlated, or rendred by the Dutch word *Heere*, as the Greeks κύριος, the Engliſh *Lord*. The *Præſes* thought fit it ſhould be rendred *Heere*, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt in the New Teſtament, citing ſome things out of the Old, renders the Hebrew *Jehovah*, by the Greek κύριος, according as the Septuagint had done. This paſt for currant, till it came to *Martinius* of *Breme*, who divided the ſentence, and thought that it might ordinarily ſo be rendred,

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if ſome places were excepted. And to this purpoſe he cited ſome places of Scripture, where the word *Jehovah* had a peculiar energie and force, which the Belgick *Heere* could not attain unto. To the ſame effect did others ſpeak: and great diſputation would have ariſen about this point, as whether the Name *Jehovah* had any points of its own, or borrowed his points from *Elohim* and *Adonai*, and the like, but that the *Præſes* ſtill cut them off. It was at length by the greater part concluded, that it ſhould be rendred by the Belgick *Heere*, which was alwayes to be expreſt in Capital Characters, and concerning this the Reader ſhould be advertiſed farther in the Preface. And when there ſhould be in any place ſome peculiar force in that word, which the Belgick word did not expreſs, of this the Reader ſhould be admoniſhed by a *marginal gloſs*.

The ſecond Propoſal was, whether the *Hebrew proper Names*, ſhould be retained, or tranſlated likewiſe into Dutch. It was concluded they ſhould be retain'd, for avoiding of all unneceſſary novelty and alteration. The third propoſal was, whether the *ancient Diviſion of Chapters* ſhould remain, for many Hebrew Copies differ'd from our Common in this point, and ſometime the old diviſion did ſeem ſomewhat inconvenient, as that ſomewhere it brake off in the middeſt of a matter, ſomewhere in the middeſt of a ſentence. It was concluded that the old diviſion ſhould remain. For there would ariſe great confuſion in quotations, if the number of Chapters and Verſes ſhould alter. As for the variety of other Copies, and inconvenient diviſion, of this the Reader ſhould be advertiſed *in the Margent*. The fourth propoſal was, whether there might not be added ſome *Appendices* to the Bible, as *Chorographical* and *Topographical Tables*, *Genealogies*, and the like. It was thought fit they ſhould, provided that in the Tables and Maps there were no pictures and babies, for avoiding ſuperſtition. The fifth propoſal was concerning the appointing of perſons fit for the work of the Tranſlation. The *Præſes* willed that every Province ſhould exhibit by Bill the Names of thoſe, who they knew in their Provinces were of ſufficiency for the Tranſlation, which forthwith was done, and the Names that were exhibited were all pronounced in the *Synod*: but out of theſe who ſhould be choſen for the work was differ'd, until the next *Seſſion* appointed upon the Monday following; and ſo with prayer they brake up the meeting.

As I have done in this Seſſion, ſo will I do in all the reſt, if I ſhall get convenient place where I may ſtand and note. For, for any thing I ſee, mine own notes muſt be my chiefeſt help. The matters are but ſmall, but I ſuppoſe they will amend when the Arminian Party ſhall make their appearance. Here is your Honours old Friend come to Town, and paſſes under the name of a Doctor of Phyſick. He is to dine

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with my Lord Biſhop this day, but I have diſcovered him unto his Lordſhip what he is. I have preſumed to keep *Daniel* with me longer then I determined at my departure; the reaſon is, becauſe I am unskilful of the ſtreets, and I have not Dutch enough to enquire my way: I will ſhortly ſend him home. What ſhall be done in the following Seſſions, I will not fail to inform your Lordſhip by the next Meſſenger, in the mean while I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* $\frac{16}{26}$ *of* Novemb. 1618. *Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty,* Jo. Hales.

I have ſent your Honour a Catalogue of the Synod Printed here with us.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

ON Wedneſday the $\frac{18}{28}$ of *November*, thoſe of the Synod met in the morning. This *Seſſion was only deliberative, for they concluded nothing.* The propoſall was, *what form of catechizing* both for children and youths ſhould be thought fitteſt to be put in practiſe in the *Belgick* Churches. The *Præſes* firſt ſpake many things learnedly of the neceſſity of Catechizing, that it was the *baſis* and ground of Religion, and the ſole way of *transfuſing* the principles of Chriſtianity into men: that it was very ancient, practiſed by the *Patriarchs*, by the *Apoſtles*, by *Origen*, and approved by the conſent of the *fathers:* that from the neglect of this came the ignorance of the common ſort, and that multitude of ſects amongſt them, of *Papiſts Anabaptiſts, Libertines, &c.* whereas if an uniform courſe of teaching them their firſt principles had been taken up, there would not have been ſo many differences: that there was now greater neceſſity then ever of reviving this cuſtom, becauſe of the *Jeſuits* who mightily labour in this kind, as appeared by ſome of their acts lately in *Friſia, &c.* Next were the Deputyes for the ſtrangers called upon to deliver what formes of Catechizing were in their Churches put in uſe: which they did, and gave them to the *Præſes* in writing. After theſe, the Profeſſors, and the other Deputyes ſpake their mindes, and almoſt all gave them up in writings, which were immediately pronounced in publick by the Scribe; and ſuch as ſpake *memoriter*, promiſed to ſet down their opinions *in ſcripto*, and deliver them to the *Præſes* after dinner. The principall heads on which they inſiſted, were theſe: that there might be three degrees of Catechizing, one *Domeſtical*, to be practiſed by Fathers and Maſters in their familyes: another *Scholaſticall* to be

be used by *Scholemasters* in publick Scholes: and a third *Ecclesiasticall* to be practised by the minister in the Church, that so fathers might fit their children for the Scholes, the Scholes for the Church: That therefore parents and masters should be admonished to look to this duty in their familyes: That Scholemasters should be chosen, such as were skilfull themselves to catechize, and that they should be carefull to bring their scholars to catecheticall sermons; that from sermons they should presently call them to the Schole, and there examine them how they had profited: The minister of every parish together with the *Seniours* and Deacons should monethly or quarterly visit the Scholes, and know the Scholars proficiency in this behalf: that the Ministers before the times of the Communion should repair unto private Families, and Catechize: that the Magistrates would be pleased to provide stipends for Schole-Masters, so to make them the more cheerful: that there should be variety of Catechizing according to the variety of the age, one for Children, which should contein the *Lords Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Commandments*, the Doctrine of the *Sacraments*, *&c.* that for such as were elder, other things should be added according to their capacity: that to take away confusion one form of Catechisme in each kinde should be used; that the *Jesuits* Catechismes of *Lessius*, *Canisius*, *Ledesma*, *&c.* should be abolisht. All this and more by sundrie men was exhibited in writing, and read in the audience of the Synod.

That which hitherto hath been done concerns only the manner of Catechizing, as for the matter of the Catechisme, that was not now thought fit to be spoken of, but was put off till the end of the Synod. When all had spoken their pleasures the *Præses* signifyed, that he together with the *Assessors* and *Scribes* would compare all these Writings together, and out of them all gather one forme of Catechizing as they thought best, and exhibit it unto the Synod to be approved of, or alter'd to their liking. And so the Session ended. Amongst the rest, there were some particulars told. One of the Deputies of *Geldria*, to shew the force of private Catechizing, related that amongst them there was a Minister, who when he first came to his Living, found his Church quite empty, because all his Parishioners were Papists; and therefore if he would preach, he was to preach to the bare Walls: but he takes so much pains as to go to every of his Parish privately unto their houses, and there by familiar conversing with them, and expounding unto them the grounds of Religion, he so far prevailed with them, that in the compass of a year he gain'd them all to come to Church, and by this means hath scarce a Papist in his Parish. *But doubtless the most effectual way of all the rest to bring young persons to learn their Catechisme, was that which was related by one of the* Helvetian Deputies. *For he told*

us that in his Countrey the manner was, that all young persons that meant to marry were to repair, both he and she, unto their Minister, a little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examin'd how well they had conn'd their Catechisme: if they had not done it perfectly to his minde, he had power to deferre their Marriage till they had better learnt their Lessons. I was much affected to this course when I heard it; and I thought that doubtless it was a speedy way to make all young persons, excepting my self and two or three more that mean not overhastily to marry, to be skilfull in their Catechisme. The Synod shall be ill advis'd, if they make no use of it.

Mr. Dean this day is to make a Latin *Sermon* in the Synod-house, and after that there are certain *Supplications* exhibited to the Synod to be considered of. What they are, and what they contein I will inform your Honour by the next convenient Messenger. I have suffered *Daniel* to come home, and supply himself of some necessaries, but to return to me again upon Saterday, except your Honour shall otherwise appoint. His lodging and dyet are provided, and he will be serviceable to me this ill wether, to be sent in business, my self not being so well able in dirt and snow to trace the streets. But this I leave to your Lordships consideration, and for this present I humbly take my leave.

From Dort *this* $\frac{12}{29}$ *of* Novemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

UPon Thursday, $\frac{12}{29}$ of this present, the Synod being met together, Mr. *Dean* of *Worcester* made in the *Synod*-house a polite and pathetical Latine Sermon; the portion of Scripture he chose for his Theme was the 17 verse of the 6th of *Ecclesiastes, Noli esse justus nimium, neque esto sapiens nimis.* After a witty coming upon his text, how it should come that Righteousness and Wisdom, which are every where commended unto us, should here seem to receive a check, he shewed how men might seem to be too just; First the Seculars, when sitting in place of Justice they stood too strictly in keeping the Letter of the Law, and then by inflicting too heavy punishments, when in equity lighter would serve: next in the second word *sapiens nimis*, he taxt the Divines for presuming too far in prying into the Judgements of God, and so came to reprove the curious Disputes which our age hath made concerning Predestination; that this Dispute for its endlesness was like the Mathematical line, *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*; that it was in Divinity, as the Rule of *Cos* is in Arithmetick. For the ending of these Disputes his advice

advice unto the Synod was, that both parts contending ſhould well conſider of *S. Pauls* diſcourſe in the ninth to the *Romans*, and for their final determination both ſhould exhibit unto the Synod a plain perſpicuous and familiar paraphraſe on that Chapter. For if the meaning of that Diſcourſe were once perfectly opened, the queſtion were at an end. From hence he came to exhort them to ſtand to the former determinations, which had hitherto moſt generally paſt in the Reformed Churches, in theſe points: and told them that it was an eſpecial part of his Majeſties Commiſſion to exhort them to keep unalter'd the former Confeſſions. How fit it was to open ſo much of their Commiſſion, and thus to expreſs themſelves for a party againſt the Remonſtrants your Honour can beſt judge. After this he brought a very pathetical concluſion, conſiſting of a vehement exhortation to peace and union, and ſo he ended. The *Præſes* gave him thanks for his good pains, and then told us, whereas it was once purpoſed to lay open before the Synod certain *Libelli ſupplices* (which I mentioned to your Honour in my laſt Letters) he might not now do it, for ſome reaſons which he then conceal'd. And ſo he diſmiſt the Synod without doing any thing farther. What theſe *Libelli ſupplices* contain, is unknown. Some imagine it to be from the Remonſtrant party; others more probably think, that the ſubject of them were certain *Gravamina* of the Countrey Miniſters.

Mr. *Deans* Sermon was taken well, for any thing I can yet learn to the contrary; but your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand, there was a little doubt made concerning theſe Latine Sermons. Mr. *Præſes*, when the Letters were directed to the *Arminian* party, requeſted the Forreigners that they would be pleaſed to beſtow in their Courſes ſome Latin Sermons to entertain the Synod till the *Arminians* made their appearance; and "firſt commended this unto the Engliſh. My Lord Biſhop refuſed it be- "cauſe of the ſuddain warning: but Mr. Dean would needs undertake "it. But certain of the *Exteri* came to the Biſhop, and ſhewed him how "dangerous this might be. For it was, as they thought, a very hard "matter ſo to walk, as not to touch upon ſome points that are in Con- "troverſy, which could not be without the offence of one party. My Lord Biſhop and the other two, for this reaſon thought the motion very inconvenient: but Mr. Dean would by no means apprehend of it, but as of a buſineſs very fit to be done. It ſeems this was the general conceit of the Forreigners, which was the cauſe that there was in this kinde nothing done till now, notwithſtanding that the motion was made a pretty while before my coming to *Dort*. But how well this example is approved, it will appear, if others of the Forreigners do follow it. Here is a rumour of a certain Jeſuitical book, lately ſet forth in diſgrace of our Synod. I have not yet ſeen it, but I underſtand it is

in the hands of the *Præſes* unto whom I had repair'd to have looked into it, but that I conceive him to be exceeding full of buſineſs. As ſoon as I can learn what it is, I will acquaint your Honour with it. We have much ſpeech of a ſtrange Comet of an unuſual length ſeen this morning. I ſaw it not; and peradventure it is no Newes unto your Lordſhip, if it have appeared in the Horiſon of the *Hague*. My Lord Biſhop and his Company remember their Love and Service to your Honour, and thank you for your Letter of Engliſh Newes, which they here return. I have ſent according to your Lordſhips Will ſix Catalogues of the Synod, printed with us in Latin. And ſo for this time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort *this* $\frac{12}{29}$ *of* Novemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Friday the $\frac{20}{30}$ of *Novemb.* the Deputies met in the Morning: where firſt of all, there were recited the Judgements of ſome concerning the manner of Catechizing which was yet depending, who had not delivered their mindes in writing the day before. In this was there nothing extraordinary, ſave only the advice of the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht*. For the Deputies of that Province gave their Judgments ſeverally, the *Contra-Remonſtrants* by themſelves, and the *Remonſtrants* by themſelves. Theſe firſt blamed the common Catechiſme paſſant amongſt them, as being too obſcure for the Simple, and too long for the Memory. Secondly they thought it not neceſſary that there ſhould be a threefold Catechiſm, for one well learnt might ſerve for all the reſt. Thirdly, they would have a Catechiſm ſo made, that the Anſwers might be nothing elſe but bare Texts of H. Scriptures. For they thought, that if Scripture alone were taught, and not any mens gloſſes, it would be a more immediate means to gain the Anabaptiſts and other Schiſmaticks to accept of the Catechiſm. Fourthly, they thought fit that in the Preface to theſe Catechiſms, there ſhould be a note given to this purpoſe; that theſe kinds of writing by Catechiſms, &c. were to be eſteemed only as the *Apochryphal Scriptures*. To the third point ſome little thing was anſwered to this purpoſe, that this was a mean utterly to extirpate all other Forms of Catechizings out of the Church, there never yet having been any form of Creed or Catechiſm ſo conceived. Yet there might be a time hereafter for the Synod to conſider of it, when they pleaſed. After this followed the Form of Catechizing, which the *Præſes* and *Aſſeſſors* had agreed upon. My purpoſe was to have taken an extract of it and ſent it to your

your Honor, and I dealt with *Feſtus Hommius* about it; but his anſwer was, that he was to communicate about this with the *Præſes*, and that it was in the hand of *Sebaſt. Dammannus* his fellow Scribe. To *Dammannus* I was not known, neither did I underſtand of any acquaintance he had with your Honor, and therefore I let it reſt. The ſumme of it was this. That there ſhould be obſerv'd a threefold Catechizing. 1. At home by the Parents. 2. In the Schole by the Schole-maſter; A third in the Church by Catechetical Sermons: then, that t ere ſhould be a threefold Catechiſm, one for *Incipientes*, containing the Lords Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and the Church Diſcipline. A ſecond for the *Middle ſort*, which ſhould be a brief of the *Palatine* Catechiſm: a third for *Youths*, the *Palatine* Catechiſm it ſelf. That every one that was admitted Scholemaſter ſhould be bound to teach no other Catechiſm, and that all other Forms ſhould be aboliſht: that if either Scholemaſters in the Scholes, or Miniſters in the Church, ſhould refuſe or neglect to Catechize, they ſhould be ſubject to cenſure, &c. When this Form was read, the Provinces were in order askt what they would have alter'd or ſupplied. Thoſe of *Geldria* thought it fit that the Miniſter before his Catechetical Sermon, ſhould not only take the words of the Catechiſm (as the cuſtom had in moſt places been) but likewiſe ſome Text of Scripture upon which the doctrine of the Catechiſm was grounded. For, as it ſeems, the cuſtom is in Catechiſtical Sermons, not to take a Text of Scripture, but a portion of the Catechiſm for their Text and Theme. It was anſwered that this cuſtom had been a long time laid down, and could not now conveniently be recall'd: the ſame Deputies propoſed, whether it were not fit, that whereas in the Decree there is mention made of a cenſure to paſs on thoſe who neglected it, there ſhould be ſome particular form of Cenſure ſet down by the Synod. The thing being put to voices, it was decreed, that it ſhould be left to the Judgement of the *Claſſes* how they ſhould be cenſur'd. The *South Hollanders* thought it neceſſary there ſhould be publike catechizing in the Church by way of Queſtion and Anſwer. It was anſwered, that this could not be by reaſon of the frequency of Sermons. Thoſe of *Overiſell* propoſed ſomewhat concerning the form of chatechetical Sermons. It was anſwer'd that this ſhould hereafter be thought of. "*Which anſwer is a civil way which the* "Præſes *uſes, when he means to put by an impertinent queſtion.* Laſt of all, thoſe of the *Walon* Churches requir'd that this Decree ſhould not prejudice them, who had already accepted of *Beza's* Catechiſm in their Churches. Now whereas there were three Catechiſms propoſed, of which there was but one in being, namely the *Palatine*, they conſulted of deputing ſome, who ſhould make the other two. The matter being put to Scru-

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tiny, there were choſen theſe ſix, *Polyander*, *Gomarus*, *Tyſius*, *Lydius*, *Fauchelius*, *Udemannus*. Here the *Præſes* propoſed to the Synod, that they would think of fit means for the Education and training up of thoſe who ſhould enter the Miniſtery: but thoſe of *North Holland* propoſed a doubt, wherein the Church of *Amſterdam* requir'd the determination of the Synod. The matter is this. The Merchants of *Amſterdam* having Traffick into the *Eaſt Indies*, took into their Families many of the Youths and Infants of that Country, but doubted whether they were to be baptized or no. The queſtion was thus propoſed, "*Whether* "*the children of Ethnick parents adopted into the Families of Chriſtians* "*were to be baptized, if ſo be they who did offer them to be baptized did* "*undertake that they ſhould be brought up in the Chriſtian Faith.* But both theſe queſtions were put over to the next Seſſion, and ſo the Synod brake up. This afternoon the Dutcheſs of *Tremullio* came to Town. The Engliſh went to entertain her, where my Lord Biſhop made a ſpeech unto her in Latin, which by her Chaplain was interpreted unto her, who likewiſe in her name returned anſwer. But of the particulars of this entertainment, I ſuppoſe My Lord Biſhop in his Letters relates more fully to your Honour, then I can; for I was not there.

On Saterday the firſt of *December*, *ſtylo novo*, the Deputies being met in the morning, the queſtion concerning means of education of thoſe who ſhould be fitted for the Miniſtry was propoſed; where, becauſe they found it to be a greater matter then it ſeem'd when at firſt it was propoſed, the Provinces requeſted further reſpite, excepting the *Zelanders* and *South Hollanders*, who there delivered up their Judgements *in ſcripto*. The ſubſtance of what the *Zelanders* delivered was this: that it would pleaſe the *States General* to appoint that a certain number of Youths might be bred up for the Miniſtry at the charge of the publike purſe. That the wealthier ſort would ſend ſuch of their children to the Scholes, as they thought fitteſt to make Scholars. That out of theſe ſhould be choſen youths of ingenuous Parentage and Manners, of good wit, of ſtrength and health of body, which ſhould be ſent unto the Univerſity. That in the Univerſity there might be diſtinct Colledges for every Province, and in theſe Colledges there might be Regents and Superviſors, which might preſcribe unto Youths a Method of ſtudy, and not ſuffer them to wander in variety of ſtudy, and not perſit themſelves in ſome one kinde. That there might ſome time be prefixt for their abode in the Univerſity, as five or ſix years. And becauſe many upon two years ſtudy ſeek for preferment in the Church, and others on the contrary ſtay in the Univerſity over long; for remedy of both theſe there might a time be fixt wherein the whole courſe of ſtudy ſhould be abſolv'd. That theſe Students every year ſhould give an account of

their

their proficiency to their Parents and Benefactors, and ſuch as bred them up: that after this they ſhould go and viſit forreign Churches and Univerſities to ſee and obſerve. That at their coming home they bring with them the Teſtimonies of the Paſtors and Governors of the Churches and Univerſities wherein they have been, and exhibit them to the *Claſſes* where they are to live; and expect their calling to the Miniſtery. That they ſhould publickly in the Church read the Scriptures before the people, for this would make them known to the Church, embolden them to ſpeak to the multitude, and mend their voices and delivery. That by conſent of the *Claſſes* they be permitted to be with the Paſtors, to conferre with them in *Caſes* of *Conſcience*, to go with them when they viſit the ſick, that thus they may learn how to deal in theſe caſes, and how to conceive prayers upon occaſion. That to fit them for the Church Regiment, which is a thing not learnt in Scholes, ſome moneths before their Inſtitution, they converſe in the greater Cities, to be preſent in the Presbyteries and the Meetings of the Deacons, to underſtand how Voices may be asked and gathered, how Church Diſcipline is to be exerciſed, and what in divers caſes is to be done. That they be examin'd how fit they be to reform mens manners. That it were fit that even in Univerſities Youths were train'd up in *Practick Divinity* and *Caſes* of *Conſcience*. The ſubſtance of what the *South-Hollanders* delivered was this. Firſt that Youths ſhould ſtay at leaſt two years in the Univerſity, and publickly read the Scriptures in the Church. *Secondly*, that after this they publickly diſpute of ſome difficult queſtion in Religion. Thirdly, that they be examined of all the Articles in Religion, and if they give ſatisfaction, then they may be admitted *ad Propoſitiones*, (what theſe are I know not) and after a years exerciſe in them, they may be examined by the *Claſſes*, who if they finde them fit may give them leave to exerciſe themſelves in Catechizing and Preaching. That to learn Church Government they be admitted to *Conſiſtories* and *Claſſes* to ſee what there is done, ſo that what there they ſee they keep in ſilence. That they leave not the ſtudies of Divinity to meddle with other things. That they may have leave to *Baptize*, if the neceſſity of Rural Churches require. Yet they muſt expect a year ere they be admitted, which is not to be done without ſufficient Teſtimony that all hath been done which is requir'd. The reſt of the Provinces requir'd reſpite till Monday: and ſo they paſt to the Queſtion which was propoſed in the Name of the Churches of *Amſterdam*, concerning the Baptizing of the Children of Ethnick Parents. The *Engliſh* firſt exhibited their mindes in Writing to this effect. That Infants, if they were juſtly taken, as, if they were given, or bought, or the like, (for it might not be lawful fraudulently or violently

violently to take them from their Parents) ought to be baptized. For ſo it is recorded of *Abraham*, that he circumciſed every one in his houſe, even thoſe whom he had bought with his Mony: but if they were *Adulti*, they might not be Baptized till they made Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith. With theſe agreed the *Bremenſes* and the *Profeſſors*. On the contrary the *Helvetians* and *South-Hollanders* concluded, that the Infants of Ethnick Parents ought not to be baptized, till they came to be of years to declare their Faith. Their chief reaſon was, becauſe Baptiſme was a Sign of the Covenant: but the Infants of Ethnick Parents are not born within the Covenant, and therefore they cannot be partakers of this Signe. "Here was a little indirect dealing be- "twixt the *Helvetians* and the *Bremenſes*. The *Helvetians* Scribe had "by ſome means or other ſuffered a copie of the reaſons for their "opinion to be brought aforehand to thoſe of *Breme*, who openly in the "Synod houſe, *in ſcripto* refuted them: which thing is feared will cauſe ſome choler. And this was all that this day was done concerning this queſtion, and ſo both the queſtions yet depend. The Synod did the ſooner end, becauſe they were at eleven a clock to go to the Funeral of *Henricus ab Hell*, who died lately, as I think I told your Honour. The Solemnity was no more but this. Some of the chief of the Town together with the whole Synod went to the Houſe where he died, accompanied him to the Church, laid him in his Grave, and went home again, almoſt in as little ſpace as I have told it you. The Durcheſs of *Tremullio* was at this Seſſion, and as I hear, ſpake very well of the *Synod*, commending it both for Piety and good Order.

The Remonſtrants are now every day expected. We underſtand that they are already met together at *Leyden*. "Mr. *Præſes* came this day "to my Lord Biſhop, and under *Benedicite* told him, that it was thought "the Remonſtrants would become *Suiters* to the *Secular* Deputies, "for ſome greater reſpect in the *Synod*, then it is likely otherwiſe "they ſhould have: and that for this they would uſe the *Engliſh* as "Mediators. Then, that they would call in queſtion the right of his "Preſidentſhip, as being made only by the Provincials without any "reſpect had unto the Forreigners. To this my Lord Biſhop replyed, "that for the firſt, ſince they were Members of the Synod, they "would not do any thing clancularily without the Conſent and Pri- "vity of the whole Company. To the ſecond he anſwered, that "hitherto they had acknowledged him for their *Præſes*, and ſo they "would continue to do, notwithſtanding any objection might be "fancyed, ſo that of them he might ſecure himſelf. And this is all hath hapned ſince Friday Morning, at what time I addreſt my laſt

Letters

Letters unto your Honour: and for this time commending your Lordſhip to Gods good Protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort, Decemb. 2. 1618. *Stylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

MY Letters conteining the acts of our Synod upon Friday and Saterday, I diſpatched this morning unto your Honour by a Soldier whom I knew not, and he delivered them to a Skipper whom he knew not, and whether or no they came to your Lordſhips hands I am uncertain. There are to come with them Letters from my Lord Biſhop to your Honour. Upon Monday the third of *Decemb.* the Deputies being met, they proſecuted the two queſtions before left undecided; Firſt of the Baptizing of children born of Ethnick parents: ſecondly, of means conſiderable how to breed up thoſe who are to enter the Miniſtry. In the firſt, concerning the *adulti*, the Synod agreed, that if they made profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith they might be baptized, *etiam invitis parentibus.* Their reaſon was, becauſe that after children came to be of years, in caſe of Religion they depended not from the power of their parents, but might make their own market. All the difficulty was of infants, and children not yet of diſcretion to make their choice. The *Engliſh*, the *Profeſſors*, thoſe of *Haſſia*, thoſe of *Breme*, of *Zeland*, of *Freeſland* thought it neceſſary they ſhould be baptized, if they were rightfully adopted into Chriſtian Families, and that their parents had altogether reſigned them into the hands of the Chriſtians. They grounded themſelves upon the examples of *Abraham* circumciſing all that were of his Family; of *Paul* baptizing whole houſholds, of the primitive Church recorded in S. *Auſtin*, who ſhews, that anciently children that were *expoſititii* were wont to be taken up by the Chriſtians and baptized. Now ſuch were the children of Ethnick parents; for it was never eſteem'd lawful for Chriſtians to expoſe their children. All the reſt were peremptory that they were not to be baptiz'd, till they came to be of years of Diſcretion, to make profeſſion of the Faith. The *North Hollanders* themſelves, whoſe buſineſs it was, and who moved the Synod in it, were expreſly againſt it; whether they were bought, given, taken in war, or howſoever. Their reaſons were, b cauſe they are *immundi*; becauſe they are *extra fœdus*, of which Baptiſme is a ſigne; becauſe Adoption could entitle them only to terrene, not to an Heavenly inheritance, &c. So that if plurality of voices carry it, the

negative part prevails. The *Præſes* requir'd ſome time to compare the opinions together, and ſo for the time forbare to pronounce ſentence. And becauſe the examples of *Abraham* and *Paul* were much ſtood upon by thoſe who held the affirmative, he propoſed theſe two things to be conſidered of. Firſt, whether it were likely that in *Abrahams* Family, when he put circumciſion in act, there were any Infants, whoſe Parents died uncircumciſed. Secondly, whether it were likely that in the Families baptized by *Paul*, there were any Infants, whoſe Parents died unbaptized: and ſo he paſt away to the ſecond Queſtion, concerning the manner of training up thoſe who were to enter the Miniſtry. In my laſt Letters to your Honour I related at large the advice given in this point by the *Zelanders* and *South Hollanders*. It was now propoſed to the Synod, whether they did approve their counſel, or except againſt it. Some thought it was unlawful for men not in Orders to preach publickly, or baptize; (for the *South Hollanders* in their advice, had determined they ſhould,) others thought it unmeet, that they ſhould be preſent in the Conſiſtories and meetings of Deacons, or that they ſhould read the Scriptures publickly in the Church (which was the joint advice of the *Zelanders* and *South Hollanders*.) Laſtly, it was doubted whether the Synod could make any Decree in this Queſtion; becauſe of the ſeveral cuſtoms in ſeveral Provinces, which it lay not in the power of the Synod to prejudice. So that inſtead of deciding this one doubt the *Præſes* propoſed five more to be conſidered of. 1. Whether men not in Orders might make publike Sermons. 2. Whether they might baptize. 3. Whether it were fit they ſhould come into the Conſiſtories. 4. Whether they ſhould read the Scriptures publikely. 5. Whether the Synod could make a Decree in this buſineſs, for the reaſon above mentioned, or only give advice. The Synod had begun to ſpeak to the two firſt, and it was the general opinion that they might not baptize. In the point of preaching they differ'd. Some thought abſolutely it might be permitted them: others on the contrary thought no: ſome took a middle courſe, thinking they might preach privately before a ſelect Auditory, who were to be their Judges how ſufficient they were for that end: ſome that they may do it openly, ſo that it were underſtood they did it not *cum poteſtate ſolvendi & ligandi*. But when part of the Synod had ſpoken their minds, becauſe the time was much paſs'd, they brake up, and put off the determination to the next Seſſion.

Here is a rumor that ſome of the Remonſtrants are come to Town, who they are I cannot yet learn. I ſhall to morrow make inquiry, and by the next Meſſenger acquaint your Lordſhip with it. In the mean time I humbly take my leave.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Dort this 3. *of* Decemb. 1618. *ſtyle novo.*

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Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Tueſday the fourth of *Decemb. Stylo novo*, the Deputies being met in the morning they proceeded to determine of thoſe doubts, which were moved the Seſſion before. In the matter conſulted concerning the training up of thoſe who were to take upon them the Miniſtry, there were five queſtions moved. 1. Whether it were fit they ſhould preach publikely. 2. Whether they ſhould baptize. 3. Whether they ſhould come to the Conſiſtories and meetings of the *Claſſes*. 4. Whether they ſhould read the Scriptures publikely in the Church before the people. Laſtly, whether they ſhould make a Decree to binde all Provinces neceſſarily, or only to adviſe them. To the firſt two the *Exteri* had given their anſwer in the former Seſſion. For the queſtion of Baptiſm, no man ſtood upon it, but all accounted it unlawful, for men not in orders to take upon them to baptize: the doubt was concerning Sermons. *Jo. Polyander* thought it very fit that ſuch as intended the Miniſtry, before they were admitted ſhould practiſe preaching. Firſt becauſe it was the practiſe of ſome of the Belgick Churches. Secondly, becauſe it took from them that *ἀιδωσ*, that ſubruſtick ſhamefaſtneſs of many men, by which they feared to ſpeak unto the people. Thirdly, becauſe it was convenient that they ſhould be known for men fit for that duty, before they ſhould enter upon it. Fourthly, that they might approve themſelves to their Parents and Benefactors, who had been at the charge of their Education. Provided that it were with theſe conditions: firſt that it were done with conſent of the *Claſſes*: Secondly that it were practiſed only when the Church was unſupplied, either by the death, or abſence, or ſickneſs of their Paſtor, or in caſe of like neceſſity. With *Polyander* did *Wallæus* of *Middleburgh* agree, and grounded himſelf upon the practiſe of the Jews, amongſt whom not only the Levites, but others alſo publickly taught the Law, as it appears by the ſtory in the *Acts*, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* coming into the Synagogue, the Rulers call'd unto them, *that if they had any word of exhortation, they ſhould ſpeak unto the people.* Contrary unto both theſe was *D. Gomarus*, who held it utterly unlawful for any to preach before they were admitted to the Miniſtry. Firſt, becauſe they had no Miſſion; *and who can preach except he be ſent.* Secondly, becauſe they had not the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Thirdly, it was granted that they could not baptize: now Chriſt hath put Baptiſme and Preaching together, *Go teach all Nations baptizing them*: *& quæ Deus conjunxit homo ne ſeparet.* Laſt of all, though there had been a cuſtom

in ſome places to the contrary, yet fitter it was that cuſtom ſhould conform it ſelf to Truth, then Truth to cuſtom. With *Gomarus* agreed *Thyſius*, and thought his argument drawn from Miſsion to be unanſwerable; and for mine own part I thought ſo to. *D. Gomarus* is a man of great note; but I never heard him ſpeak with any ſtrength of reaſon in the Synod till now. What *Silvandus* his opinion was concerning the point I know not; for he doth ſo favour his voice, that I can never tell what he ſaith: and I imagine I have no great loſs of it. After the Profeſſors was there little ſaid, which was not ſaid before, only *Lydius* of *South Holland* thought certainly to confute *Gomarus*, and told us, that ſuch men might preach, and that they had *Vocation* ſo to do. For firſt that inward Vocation which they had from the Spirit, and then their Examination and Admiſſion by the *Claſſes* was warrant for them ſufficient to preach, though they had no particular charge. For this good News did Mr. *Dean* of *Worceſter* publikely applaud *D. Lydius* in the Synod. I mervail'd much with my ſelf to ſee Mr. *Dean* and *Lydius* ſo wide of the mark. For there was no queſtion of thoſe who were admitted by the *Claſſes*, but only of ſuch who fitted themſelves to be admitted. The Examination and Admiſſion by the *Claſſes* is the very form of their Miniſtry, and not their being placed over a particular Church. And thus much at length did the *Præſes* tell us. When all had ſpoken, Mr. *Præſes* pronounced that it was concluded by the Synod, that it ſhould not be lawful for them to baptize: but for the matter of Sermons, it was thought good by the Synod, that it ſhould be left to the Judgement and Diſcretion of the particular *Claſſes*. In the third queſtion concerning the Admiſſion of the *Proponentes* (as they call them) to the Conſiſtories, little was ſaid, and ſo in the fourth, concerning the publike reading of Scripture in the Church; Some thought fit that the ancient cuſtom of *Anagnoſtæ* in the Church ſhould be revived: others thought it ſome diſparagement to publike Reading, that it was committed to Tradeſmen, and many times to men unskilfull, that knew not well to read: In both theſe the Synod determined nothing, but left them free to the diſcretion of the *Claſſes*; and the later was to be left to the Liberty of the *Proponentes*, whether they would read or no; and that they were not to be inforced to it, if they would not. In the laſt queſtion whether they ſhould make any neceſſary Decree binding all, or only by way of Counſel, my Lord Biſhop being asked what he thought fit, made anſwer, that they were to diſtinguiſh betwixt things neceſſary, and not neceſſary. Things abſolutely neceſſary ſhould be abſolutely decreed: other things ſhould be left arbitrary. Which ſentence paſs'd by the major part of voices, and was Synodically concluded. Here the Deputies for the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht* exhibited

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to the Synod in Writing a Bill, containing ſome exceptions againſt what hitherto had paſs'd in the matter of the Catechiſm. Firſt they miſſliked that any ſuch form ſhould be forced upon them. Secondly, that all Scholemaſters ſhould be ſo ſtrictly bound to that form, as that it ſhould not be lawful to recede from it. For this did prejudice all other forms now currant, and might diſcontent the *Lutherans* and others, who had admitted of another form. Thirdly, they charged the *Præſes* with ſome indirect dealing. For whereas he had, whileſt the buſineſs was in *fieri*, ſolemnly proteſted, that there was no intent concerning the matter, but only concerning the form of Catechizing, yet in the iſſue they had confirmed the *Palatine* Catechiſm, which contained as well matter as form. Fourthly, they miſſliked the Decree concerning the not premiſing of a Text of Scripture before catechetical Sermons. Laſtly, they required that this their diſſent might be regiſtred. To this the *Præſes* replyed, that the Synod had only expreſt it ſelf what it thought fitteſt to be done. As for the neceſſity of Execution, that was not in the power of the Synod, but of the States General, who when all was done, might either paſs or recall what they thought good. Secondly to the point concerning himſelf, he anſwered, he had done ſo, and thought it fitteſt ſo to do (but the Synod thought otherwiſe) and ſince there was a matter of Catechiſm to be concluded, they thought they might confirm this as well as any other: and this was not ſo confirm'd, but that it was in the power of the *Synod* to alter what they pleaſe. To the point of premiſing a Text of Scripture before the catechetical Sermon, he anſwered that the determination of the *Synod* was not to take that cuſtom away there where it it was in uſe, but only to prohibit the urging of it there where it had a long time been diſuſed. To the laſt, concerning the Regiſtring of this their diſſent, he anſwer'd, he ſaw not how this could be granted them; ſince the *States* General had concluded, that what paſs'd by a major part of voices, ſhould alone be accounted the Act of the *Synod*: and by the ſame proportion every one that paſſes not his voice with the major part might require his diſſent to be regiſtred. After this the *Præſes* ſignified that concerning the queſtion of the baptizing of Ethnicks children put up by the Church of *Amſterdam*, he required yet farther reſpite, becauſe of the opinion of ſome of the Synod, which was ſomewhat ambiguous and obſcure. He was therefore to conferre with the Authors of it, and therefore deſir'd that the reſolution might be put off till the next Seſſion: and withall he commended to the Synod the conſideration how the liberty of printing ſo promiſcuouſly all kinde of ſcandalous and libellous Pamphlets might be repreſt, and ſo he diſmiſt the Synod.

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The Remonſtrants are in Town, but becauſe they keep themſelves private, and have not preſented themſelves unto the States and Deputies, there is no notice taken of it. And ſo commending your Honor to Gods good Protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 4. *of* Decem. 1618. *ſtylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

UPon Wedneſday the 5. of *December, ſtylo novo*, the Deputies being met in the morning, the firſt thing which was done, was the admiſſion of a Senior or Elder for thoſe of *Groninga*, whoſe number as it ſeems was not yet full. The thing was tranſacted in Dutch, and yet the conſent of the Engliſh was aſkt: at which I did not a little muſe. Next followed the advice of the *Helvetians*, what courſe was to be taken with thoſe, who are to enter the Miniſtry; in which there was no great matter from what before was intimated. The *Palatini* promis'd the like, and therefore the *Præſes* requir'd yet farther reſpite before they did conceive any form of Decree in this behalf. Then fol- "lowed the Decree of the Synod concerning the queſtion moved by "thoſe of *Amſterdam*, about the *Baptiſm of children born of Ethnick* "*Parents*. The Deciſion conſiſted of two parts. The firſt concern'd "the *Adulti*, and it was this; *That ſuch as were of years and capacity* "*ſhould be diligently taught and catechized, and then, if they did deſire* "*it, they ſhould be baptized.* The ſecond concern'd Infants, and it was, "*That till they came to years of Diſcretion, they ſhould by no means be* "*baptized.* A ſtrange deciſion, and ſuch as, if my memory or reading "fails me not, no Church either Ancient or Modern ever gave. When "it was objected, what if they were in danger of death; their anſwer "was, that the want of Baptiſm would not prejudice them with God, "except we would determine as the Papiſts do, that Baptiſm is neceſ- "ſary to ſalvation. Which is as much to undervalue the neceſſity of "Baptiſm as the Church of *Rome* doth overvalue it. Here followed a recitation of all that had been done ſince the buſineſs of the Catechiſm had been ſet on foot: amongſt the reſt was regiſtred the exceptions of the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht*, and it was added, *atque iis eſt à Præſide ſatisfactum.* Thoſe of *Utrecht* excepted againſt that word *ſatisfactum*: they had, ſaid they, an anſwer given them, but no ſatisfaction. For they perſiſted in their former opinion: and forthwith that word was alter'd. Here was a doubt moved, whether it were not fit that ſome of the

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eſpecial *Reaſons* brought by the Synod in the Queſtion of the Baptiſm of Infants ſhould not be added to the Decree. *It was anſwered, That Reaſons were obnoxious to cavil and exceptions, and it was not for the Authority of the Synod to Reaſon, but to Decree.* After this the *Præſes* ſignified to the Synod that the time prefixt for the appearance of the Remonſtrants was now expiring, and yet nothing was ſignified concerning their appearance neither to the Secular Preſident, nor Eccleſiaſtical. Wherefore naming them all, he thought good to *cite* them to appear. It was anſwered by thoſe of *Utrecht*, that they did provide and would ſhortly be forth coming. In the mean while to take up the time, Mr. *Præſes* thought good to commend to the Synod the conſideration and redreſs of thoſe abuſes which were in Printing. Every man was ſuffered to print what him liſted, whence came abundance of blaſphemous, heretical, obſcene and ſcandalous Pamphlets. Many here delivered their opinions, others requir'd farther time to think of it. The Engliſh firſt thought fit that the States General ſhould be reqneſted to take the care of this into their hands. That there ſhould be Cenſors to approve all ſuch Books as ſhould go to the Preſs. That no man ſhould print, but ſuch as were known to be of the Reformed Religion. Unto this advice divers things were added by others; as that there ſhould be a ſet number of Printers: that they ſhould be ſworn: that there ſhould be certain Laws preſcribed unto them: that they ſhould print no Heretical Books, eſpecially the Books of *David Georgius*, *H. Nicolaus Socinus*: that no libels, no unlawful pictures, either obſcene, or made to any mans diſgrace, ſhould be permitted: that no Book ſhould be printed without the names of the Author, Printer, Place, except the Synod or the Magiſtrates did in ſome caſes otherwiſe think good: that there ſhould be care that the Correctors for the Preſs were good Scolars: and many other things of the like nature. Then were there read certain Canons made in ſome Synods before, concerning this buſineſs. *Theodatus* of *Geneva* told us, that in his travails, at *Venice* he had obſerv'd that there was a Colledge of ſundry perſons, ſecular and ſpiritual, to whoſe care was committed all the buſineſs of Printing. He thought it fit there ſhould be ſuch Colledges here erected. When all had ſpoken that would, the *Præſes* told them that *Adrian Smoutius* had written a little Book in the *Belgick* Tongue unto the Synod, and ſent the copies of it to him to be diſtributed. And ſo requeſting them to take in good part the good will of the man, for want of more buſineſs the Synod brake up.

At length are we coming to the main battel. The Armies have been in ſight one of another, and have had ſome parly. The manner was this. Upon Thurſday the 6. of *Decemb. ſtylo novo*. The Synod being ſet in the

the morning, the *Præses* ſignified, that there had come unto him in the name of the Remonſtrants theſe fower, *H. Leo*, *Niellius*, *Matthiſius*, and *Pinakerus*, to give notice that the Remonſtrants were ready according to their *Citation*; but becauſe they had but lately come unto the Town, that yet convenient Lodgings were not provided, their papers, books and ſtuff were confuſed, therefore they requir'd reſpite either till Saterday, or at leaſt Friday morning. The Preſident of the *Politicks* replyed, that they ſhould come, and perſonally make appearance before the Synod, and there propoſe their mindes, and if the Synod approved their cauſes, they might be deferr'd. Upon this were two of the Deputies of *Utrecht* ſent forth, to give them warning to provide for their preſent appearance. In the mean while, till they came, the *Præſes* thought fit, that ſuch as in the former Seſſion delivered not themſelves concerning the Reformation of abuſes in Printing, ſhould now do it. Here was little delivered, beſides what was ſaid the day before, only ſome few particulars, as that order ſhould be taken to repreſs this longing humour in many men of coming to the Preſs: that there ſhould be no Impreſſion of the Bible at any time without leave had: Forreign Books brought out of other Countreys ſhould not be diſtracted here without peculiar leave, after their being peruſed by the Cenſurers: to eaſe the Cenſurers, that they might not be troubled with reading too great a multitude of improfitable books, it was thought fit, that the books ſhould firſt be brought to the *Claſſes*, and what they approved ſhould be brought to the Cenſurers, &c. In the mean while the Remonſtrants came, all that were cited by Letters, and were admitted into the "Synod. *There is in the midſt of the Synod-Houſe a long Table, ſet, as* "*it ſeems, for them; for it hath hitherto been void, no man ſitting at it:* "*here Chairs and Forms being ſet, they were willed to ſit down.* The *Præſes* told them, that he had commended to the Synod their Suit of being a little reſpited: but it was the will of the Deputies for the States, that they ſhould come before the Synod, and propoſe their cauſe themſelves. *Epiſcopius* ſtanding up, ſpake to this effect. "Firſt he prayed God to "give a bleſſing to this Meeting, and to powre into their mindes ſuch "conceits, as beſt fitted men come together for ſuch ends: then he "ſignified, that according to their Citation they were now come *ad* "*collationem inſtituendam*, concerning that cauſe, which hitherto with "a good Conſcience they had maintain'd. As for the point of delay, "true it is they ſpake to the *Præſes* concerning a reſpite until Saterday "or Friday, by reaſon of that great diſtraction of their books and pa-"pers, and want of convenient lodging, but not as a petition to be "moved in that behalf unto the Synod; but only as a thing which out "of common equity they might have preſumed on without acquainting

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« the Synod with it. For they were ready, even at that preſent to be-« gin the buſineſs they came for, without any further delay. But this « they left to the Deputies Secular and Eccleſiaſtical to determine of. Then were they requeſted to withdraw a little into a chamber near the Synod House; and immediately was it propoſed unto the Synod, what time was to be ſet for to begin. The time prefixt was the morrow after. *Jo. Polyander* took hold of thoſe words, *ad collationem*, and told the Synod, that it was fit the Remonſtrants were told the end of their coming, and the manner of proceeding which ſhould be taken with them, that they might know what they were to look for, and ſo provide. They were to be inform'd, that they came not to conference; neither did the *Synod* profeſs it ſelf an adverſe party againſt them. Conferences had been heretofore held to no purpoſe. They ought to have heeded the words of the Letters by which they were *cited*. They were called, not to conference, but to propoſe their Opinions with their Reaſons, and leave it to the Synod to judge of them. The Synod would be a Judge, and not a party. Then were they call'd in again, and all this was told them. *Epiſcopius* anſwered, that for the word *Collatio* he ſtood not on it, and how they would carry themſelves it ſhould appear the day following. Mean while one thing they would requeſt of the Synod: that is, that *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* ſhould be ſent for to the Synod as Patrons of this cauſe. That they had this laſt week exhibited a Supplication to the States General to this purpoſe, and receav'd this anſwer, that they ſhould put this matter to the Synod, and if the Synod thought it fit to be granted, they would not be againſt it. Neither did they propoſe this to ſeek delayes. For they were ready, whilſt theſe men ſhould be ſent for to proceed to the action. Only they thought fit, that to maintain their cauſe they ſhould be ſent for, who could beſt do it. Then were they again diſmiſt: and one was ſent to them, to call for their Supplication to the Lords, and the Lords Anſwer. To this they return'd, that the Lords gave this anſwer, not in writing, but by word of mouth: and for the copy of their Supplication, they called not for it any more. Then was the thing propoſed unto the Synod, and the *Secular* Deputies replyed, that they would return their anſwer on the morrow: and the ſame was the anſwer of the Synod. Mr. *Præſes* thought that *Grevinchovius* might be admitted, *ſalvis cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis*: yet notwithſtanding he thought good to acquaint the Synod with the quality of this man, and thereupon he produced the Act of the Provincial Synod of *South Holland*, wherein it was witneſſed, that the Synod, becauſe he did refuſe to appear when they *cited* him, and becauſe of many blaſphemies in his Book, and of many reproachful ſpeeches againſt the Magiſtrates and againſt the Miniſters, had

ſuſpended him *ab omni munere Eccleſiaſtico*. From this *Grevinchovius* had not appealed to the National Synod, and therefore it was in the power of the Synod to do what they thought fit. Then were the Remonſtrants again call'd in, and it was ſignifyed unto them, that on the morrow they ſhould underſtand the will of the Synod concerning their motion made, and ſo were they again diſmiſt; and the Seſſion ended, the *Præſes* having firſt premiſed, that all other things yet depending, as the Decree concerning the *Proponentes*, together with the Remedies concerning the abuſes in Printing, and what elſe ſoever, muſt be deferr'd, and the buſineſs in hand alone attended.

My Lord Biſhop was deſirous that Mr. *Carleton* ſhould ſtay this day, to ſee the coming of the Remonſtrants. I would have had him ſtay to morrow likewiſe, that he might have ſeen the manner of proceeding with them; but he would not. Here is ſpeech that *Scultetus* is to make the next Latin Sermon; but when we know not. There is a rumour that *Vorſtius* is gone from *Tergone*, but of this I ſuppoſe your Honour may have better information then I can give; therefore ceaſing to trouble your Honour any longer I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this 6. of* Novemb. 1618. *ſtylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

IN my laſt Letters to your Honour, I related a doubt concerning the Deputies for the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht*; whether they were to be a part of the Synod, or in the number of the Remonſtrants, who were *cited* to appear before the Synod. The reaſons of that doubt, which then I underſtood not were theſe. Firſt, becauſe in their Credential Letters they were charged to defend the cauſe of the Remonſtrants. Now it could not be that they ſhould be both Defendants and Judges in the ſame cauſe. Secondly, it was objected that their caſe was the ſame *per omnia* with *Epiſcopius*, who was to have been of the Synod, if he would have brought his Credential Letters, as the reſt of the Profeſſors were. But he refuſed it, becauſe in the Remonſtrants cauſe he was to be a party, except he would have laid by the Defence of that cauſe. Thirdly, when the queſtion was of *citing* the Remonſtrants out of each Province, it was then concluded in the Synod, that out of the Province of *Utrecht* none ſhould be *cited* to appear, becauſe of that Province there were ſome already, and therefore it was ſuperfluous to *cite* any more. In the judgment of the Synod therefore they were *in numero citatorum*

citatorum, as far as concern'd that cauſe, and not in the number of the Members of the Synod. Unto theſe Reaſons were they charged to give their anſwer upon *Saterday*, and then to reſolve whether they would forſake the words of their Credential Letters, and ſo remain Judges, or elſe ſtand unto them, and become in the number of the *citati*. Wherefore upon Saterday, the 8. of *December*, *ſtylo novo*, The Synod being met in the morning, the Deputies for the Remonſtrants gave up their Anſwer *in ſcripto* to theſe Reaſons. And to the firſt concerning the Clauſe in their Credential Letters, they anſwered, that they were not ſo limited, but that in their private inſtructions they had leave to do otherwiſe, if they thought good. To the ſecond, concerning the Parity of their caſe with *Epiſcopius*, they anſwered, that their caſe was quite another; for they were ſent from their Provinces as Members of the *Synod*, which plea *Epiſcopius* could not make. To the third, concerning the intent of the Synod at the *Citation* they anſwerd, that they never ſo underſtood the words of the Synod, neither did they know but that they might ſhew themſelves for the cauſe of the Remonſtrants, and yet ſit as Judges, ſince they were there to defend their opinion no otherwiſe then the Contra-Remonſtrants were to defend theirs: and therefore they were purpoſed to take the oath, and to keep their places. The *Præſes* then requir'd them to ſhew that clauſe in their private inſtructions, wherein that reſervation was which they pretended. They ſtuck a little at firſt to bring forth their inſtructions, but at length ſeeing there was no other remedy they conſented to do it, provided that no more ſhould be read then what they would ſuffer: which was granted them. In the mean time whilſt they were providing to produce their inſtructions, there were read in the *Synod* the letters of the Provinciall *Synod* of *South Holland*, directed to the Nationall, to this purpoſe: that whereas *Theophilus Ryckwaerdius*, one of thoſe who was *cited* among the Remonſtrants, had lately been by them convented for certain miſdemeanors the Synod would be pleaſed to give him leave to returne and make his anſwer to ſuch objections as they had to charge him with. The thing was put to the determination of the Synod. The Deputies of the States thought fit it ſhould be left to his own diſcretion to do as he thought good. Others thought it not fit he ſhould be ſent from the greater Synod to a leſſer. Others thought it was neceſſary he ſhould immediately be ſent away to make his anſwer, ſince it was queſtion of behaviour and manners only, and not of doctrine. In the end it was concluded it ſhould be left to his own diſcretion, to do as he thought good. By this time were the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht* ready to ſhew their inſtructions, which they there openly produced, but to no purpoſe at all. For all they could ſhew was this, that they had

commiſſion to defend their cauſe, or to labour, at leaſt for an accommodation or tolleration of it: but that they had power to pronounce decisively *de veritate aut falſitate ſententiæ*, that did not as yet appear. The thing was acted with much altercation on both ſides. At length it was agreed, with ſome reluctancy on the Remonſtrants party, that it ſhould be put to the determination of the Synod, whether they were to be accounted as *Judges*, or only as *citati*. Some favourably thought that their private inſtructions were not too narrowly to be ſifted, but if they would *ſuo periculo* take the oath, it ſhould be ſufficient. Others thought that an oath was a greater matter then ſhould ſo eaſily be permitted, although men did offer to take it, there being ſo good cauſe of doubt, as now there was. Others examining there Credentiall letters, and the words of their private Commiſſion, and finding no authority given them to define *de falſitate ſententiæ*, if it ſhould appear to be falſe; and that the loweſt point they could deſcend unto, was a *Tolleration*, concluded they could be no other then *citati*. As for their plea, that they came to defend their opinion no otherwiſe then the Contra-Remonſtrants did for theirs, it was replyed, firſt that they did the Synod wrong to make this diſtinction of Contra-Remonſtrants and Remonſtrants: for in the Synod there was no Contra-Remonſtrant, and no man was call'd thither under that name, whereas they in their letters came under the name of Remonſtrants. Again, No man came with charge to defend any opinion, but were free to pronounce according to truth whereſoever it ſhould be, which was not their caſe. In the end the judgement of the Synod was given up, that they could not be of the members of the Synod in this cauſe (for in any other they might) but only as *citati*. Yet notwithſtanding that they might ſee the equity of the Synod toward them, it was permitted them to keep their places upon theſe conditions: firſt if they would quit their defence of the cauſe; Secondly if they would give no adviſe or counſel directly or indirectly to the *citati*, and by no means meddle with them in their cauſe: thirdly, that they did not divulge any of the *Acts* and *Secrets* of the Synod (which Clauſe was a meer Formality. For who can expect that that ſhould not be divulged, which is done in the ſight of ſo many Spectators? Fourthly, that they ſhould not be troubleſome to the Synod, by any intempeſtive interpellations. This if they would promiſe, they ſhould take the Oath, and ſit as Judges; otherwiſe, no. Unto this were they charged immediately to give their anſwer. They again required reſpite. It was anſwered, that this requeſt was needleſs, the caſe being ſo plain, and injurious to the Synod in detaining them from their buſineſs by frivolous delayes. They perſiſting ſtill in their Suit, the thing again was devolv'd unto the Synod, whether they ſhould give their Anſwer preſently

ſently, or have farther reſpite. It was concluded that they ſhould repair to Mr. *Præſes* the ſame day at five of the clock in the Evening, there without farther delay, roundly to deliver their reſolution. Which thing yet they did not. They came indeed at the time appointed, but gave no Reſolution, neither yet have done, for any thing I can hear. And this was all was done that Seſſion. I mervail much that the Province of *Utrecht*, being the ſtrength of the Remonſtrants, could finde no wiſer men to handle their Cauſe. For as they did very fooliſhly in bewraying their private inſtructions, ſo in this whole altercation did they not ſpeak one wiſe word. This Seſſion the Remonſtrants that were cited appeared not all.

Epiſcopius is reported to have put a trick upon the Seculars. For whereas in his ſpeech he had ſaid ſome things concerning them, in that Copie which was exhibited, ſign'd with all their hands, there is no ſuch thing appears. He had committed it only to his Memory, as foreſeeing the Copie might be called for.

Mr. *Præſes* remembers his love and ſervice to your Lordſhip, and hath ſent you a Copie of the Book which *Adrian Smoutius* dedicated to the Synod. The greateſt Newes, for ought I perceive, is, that it is dedicated to the Synod; for elſe there is little that concerns them. I have troubled your Lordſhip with very long repetition of a petit matter: but it was all the argument of the *Seſſion*. I trow, to morrow we ſhall have other manner of ſtuff. And ſo ceaſing to trouble your Lordſhip, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 9. of Decem. 1618. *ſtylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

ON Munday the 10. of *December, ſtylo novo,* the Deputies met in the morning, where the firſt thing determined, was the queſtion as yet depending concerning the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht*. They had according to their appointment come to the *Præſes* and *Aſſeſſors* to give their Anſwer, which was meerly dilatory, containing their anſwers to ſuch reaſons as the *Synod* on the *Saterday Seſſion* had brought to prove them in the number of the *Citati*. But having better bethought themſelves, upon the Munday a little before the Morning Seſſion, they delivered their Reſolution to the *Præſes*, to this effect, that ſince nothing elſe would content the Synod, they had reſolv'd to leave their place of Judges, and to adjoyn themſelves to the other Remonſtrants which

were

were cited: and ſo they did. After this fell in ſome ſpeech concerning a ſupplication lately exhibited by the Remonſtrants unto the *Exteri*: and becauſe it ſeem'd to contein ſome aſperſions againſt the Synod, there was queſtion made whether or no it ſhould be publickly read and ſtand: but this motion died, and there was nothing done in it. A Copie of this Supplication, I think, my Lord Biſhop lately ſent your Honour. Then Mr. *Præſes* ſignified unto the Synod, that without farther delay he thought it fit, the Remonſtrants ſhould be put in minde of the end of their coming, and that they ſhould put up their minds in writing, concerning the five points in queſtion, and that forthwith. For he doubted it not, but they came very well provided to do it: and more, that ſome years paſt, they had provided certain conſiderations to be at hand, whenſoever they ſhould be called for, with which the World was not yet acquainted. This thing he remembred *Monſieur Barnevelt* ſometime told him in private conference, and the Remonſtrants themſelves have told the World as much in their *preſſior declaratio*, which they joyn'd to their Edition of the Conference at the *Hague*. Then were the Remonſtrants call'd in, and told, Firſt of their indirect dealing, in pretending themſelves to have but one Copie of their Oration, whereas it was known they had another, and in delivering up a broken Copie: then of the end of their being convented by the Synod. But by the way one thing was urged ſomewhat unneceſſarily. The Remonſtrants had given up, (as I told your Honour) their ſpeech ſigned with all their hands. When thoſe of *Utrecht* had joyn'd themſelves unto them, they were urged to put to their hands alſo: to which they replyed, they had not as yet read it. Here *Epiſcopius* took occaſion to clear himſelf of that imputation lately faſtned upon him, that he had abuſed the Delegates, in giving them a counterfeit copy of his ſpeech: proteſting he was not ſo ill qualitied, as that in ſo great a matter, and that before God and ſo grave a Congregation he would deal doubly, and diſhoneſtly: that he never affirmed that he had one only Copie, but that he had none fairly written; for he confeſt he had another, and that the reaſon why he requeſted either the ſame Copie again, or at leaſt a Tranſcript of it, was, becauſe there was ſome difference betwixt the two Copies, and they had not yet perfectly compar'd them together. The *Præſes* anſwered, that what was laid to their Charge, was nothing elſe but that which the Synod verily underſtood to have been done, and he thinks, that if the Memories of thoſe in the Synod were conſulted with, they would all confirm it. About this was there likely to have been ſome altercation farther, but the Secular *Præſes* will'd them to leave that and paſs to their buſineſs. Here *Epiſcopius* beſought the Synod that he might have leave to ſpeak ſome things by way of Proeme ere they came to the

Action.

Action. It was at firſt denied him, but he did ſo earneſtly intreat, that at length he had leave to ſpeak his minde: and ſo forthwith there was recited *è Scripto* a long and tedious ſpeech of two hours, at the leaſt: conſiſting of two general heads: Firſt of Exceptions they had againſt the Synod *tanquam in judicem incompetentem*: Secondly of a conceit of their own, what manner of Synod they thought fit it ſhould be, which was to compoſe theſe controverſies in hand. Their reaſons of Exceptions were many, and manifoldly amplified and confirmed: but amongſt them all there were two eſpecially inſiſted upon. Firſt, it was againſt all equity and nature that the adverſe party ſhould be Judge: the Synod was here the adverſe party, and therefore they could not be Judges. Secondly, thoſe who had made an open Schiſm and Faction in the Church, and had ſeparated themſelves from their brethren, could not be their Judges: but of this Synod a great part were Authors of Schiſm, and the reſt Favourers and Abettors of it: they could not therefore be their Judges. In the proſecution of which Reaſon they did not ſpare very liberally to beſtow on the Synod the name of *Schiſmatici & Novatores*, and *ſchiſmatum Fautores*, and other goodly titles of the ſame nature. The ſecond part of their Oration was a meere *Chimæra ſaltans in vacuo*; a ſtrange phancy of ſuch a Synod as never was, nor can be. I had thought to have taken an abſtract of it, but the tedioufneſs of it deterr'd me. I will give your Honour a taſte or two of it. There were but two wayes of inſtituting a Synod for the ending of theſe quarrels. The firſt was, by ſeeking out every where certain ſelect men, who all this time of contention had taken part with neither ſide; but kept themſelves unpartial. Secondly, if a Synod of ſuch could not be found (as I think it could ſcarcely be found in the *Netherlands*, though the Sun it ſelf ſhould ſeek it) then ſuch a Synod ſhould be framed, as in which ſhould be an equal number of both parties, each with their ſeveral *Præſes* and *Aſſeſſors*; and they ſhould debate the matter betwixt themſelves: and if they could not agree, (as it is likely they would not) what then, thought I? ſhall they part as they came? No forſooth. The Civil Magiſtrate, *tanquam Deus è machina*, he muſt come in, and preſcribe the *Moderamen*, from which neither party muſt appeal. Provided alwayes, that he laboured onely for Accomodation, and not to determine deciſively for on part. Καὶ ἠγὼ ἐξηγέρθην. *And ſo I awoke.* Of the ſame threed was the whole piece of their ſpeech. When they had well and throughly wearied their Auditory, they did that which we much deſired; they made an end. The *Præſes* made a brief anſwer to this effect. For the point of Schiſm ſaith he, it is not yet fit time to diſcuſſe. But when it ſhould in the Synod be made plain what had been the receiv'd

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Doctrine of the Church, then it would appear who they were that had made ſeceſſion from it, and ſo were guilty of Schiſm. If you refuſe us becauſe we are your Adverſaries, whom would you have deputed as Judges? your ſelves, or the Papiſts, or the Anabaptiſts, or the Libertines, or ſome other faction in theſe Countries? Let us be *Sſciſmaticks*, let us be Scribes and Phariſees, and worſe; yet you may not deny this Synod to be a lawful Synod. For firſt it was done by the Civil Magiſtrate who had authority to do it. Secondly, ſuch as were there were deputed by the conſent of the Provinces. Thirdly, they had all taken their oaths to judge uprightly. This is enough to make us your Judges, and common Charity ſhould make you to hope we would judge uprightly: at leaſt it ſhould make you reſolve thus far, if we ſhould decide truly, you would ſubſcribe unto it, if otherwiſe you would patiently bear it. If you were in our places, ſo *deputed*, ſo *ſworn*, and we were to be judged by you, we were to do the like. Here followed ſome wrangling to no great purpoſe, and ſo the Seſſion ended.

The ſame day after dinner the Deputies met again; where firſt the *Præſes* commended to the Synod the conſideration of that reproachful Name of *Schiſmi*, which the Remonſtrants did ſo openly and ſo often brand them with. For it was *Epiſcopius* his *palmarium argumentum*, the Synod was all either Schiſmaticks or favourers of them, and therefore could not be their Judges. It was much that they ſhould grow to that boldneſs, as that openly they ſhould call the Synod, the Seculars, the chief Magiſtrate, yea the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, Schiſmaticks. For what had formerly been done in the matter of Seceſſion and Diviſion of Churches was done by their conſent and approbation. He requir'd therefore the Synod to deliver themſelves what was to be done. Divers ſpake diverſly. *Lydius* of *South Holland* relating the ſtory of what had been done in the time of ſeparation, clear'd them of Schiſm; and ſhewed firſt, that the name of Schiſm was uſed craftily by them, as for a reproach, ſo likewiſe for a farther end they had for themſelves. For a Schiſm is only a breach of Charity and peace of the Church, the Doctrine remaining intire. If there were a ſeparation by reaſon of Doctrine Heretical (as here he thought there was) it was not to be call'd a Sciſm. Now the Remonſtrants did therefore uſe the name of Schiſm, that they might perſwade the world, that the difference was only in certain points indifferent, in which it matter'd not which end went forward, by this means to make their way open to a tolleration. Again, the ſeparation which was made, was made upon good reaſon. For they were forced unto it by the Remonſtrants violence, as in particular he did ſhew. At length he and the reſt of the Synod concluded, that they ſhould roundly be put in minde of their duty, and to ſpeak more reſpectively

ſpectively to the *Synod*. Upon this the Remonſtrants being called in, the *Præſes* ſignifyed what the Synod diſliked in them, and what behaviour it expected at their hands: and withall will'd them to attend the Decree of the States. *Epiſcopius* would have anſwer'd, but he was prohibited. Then immediately followed a decree of the States to this purpoſe; that whereas the Remonſtrants had hitherto made many dilatory anſwers, to the injury both of the Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, it was decreed by them, that they ſhould lay by all frivolous Exceptions, and dilatory anſwers, and forthwith proceed to ſet down their minde concerning the *Five Articles*, for which end they were come together. Then began *Epiſcopius* to purge himſelf, and declare, that in the imputation of *Schiſm* they included not the Seculars, they only charged the Eccleſiaſticks: and if the Seculars had a hand in it, they medled not with that. The *Præſes* urged them to give their anſwer, whether or no they would ſet down their mindes concerning the points in controverſy: they ſtill excepted, that the *Synod* were not their competent Judges. The *Præſes* asked by whom they would be judged? they replyed, they would not anſwer this, it was ſufficient that the Synod could not be their Judges. They were will'd to remember they were *Citati*: they replyed, *Citatorum eſt excipere de competentia judicis*. The *Præſes* of the Seculars will'd them remember that they were Subjects; they replyed, the Magiſtrate could not command their Conſciences: being again will'd to give their anſwer, whether or no they would exhibit their mindes concerning the five Articles, they requir'd firſt to have their exceptions anſwer'd; when no other anſwer would be given, they diſmiſt them, and appointed that of the *Synod* two ſhould be choſen Delegates, who ſhould immediately go to them, and in the name of the Synod warn them to lay by all other anſwers, and at the next Seſſion Categorically anſwer, whether they would exhibit their mindes concerning the points in Controverſy, or no: that ſo the Synod might know what they had to do: and ſo they brake up: this morning therefore we look what will be done. And ſo for this time I humbly take my leave, commending your Honour to Gods good Protection.

Dort, Decemb. $\frac{1}{11}$. 1618. *Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty* Jo. Hales

Of the Remonſtrants of *Utrecht*, two only have joyn'd themſelves to the *Citati*: the third, which is an Elder, profeſſes to ſubmit himſelf to the judgement of the Synod, if they ſhall decide according to his Conſcience; and that if it pleaſe the Synod to give him his Oath, he is ready to judge neither as Remonſtrant nor Contra-Remonſtrant, but accordingly as it ſhall pleaſe God to open him the truth in the Synod.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

ON Thurſday the $\frac{4}{14}$. of Decemb. the Synod being ſate, and repetition made, according to the cuſtom, of what had paſt in the former Seſſion, the Remonſtrants being called in were askt whether or no they had ſet down in writing their opinion concerning the firſt Article. Forthwith they exhibited to the Synod their opinion ſubſcribed with all their hands. The copie of this your Lordſhip ſhall receive here with theſe letters. The paper being read, the *Præſes* askt them all one by one whether this were their opinion, to which each man anſwered affirmatively. The Remonſtrants being diſmiſt the *Præſes* propoſed to the Synod, whether it were not fit that they ſhould be ſent for one by one and examined ſingly as concerning their tenent. His reaſon was, becauſe he underſtood that they made themſelves an Antiſynod, and had among themſelves ordained a *Præſes*, two Aſſeſſours, and two Scribes according to the form of the Synod: and ſo they did all things *communi conſenſu* like a little Synod: to this ſome anſwered that they thought it fit: ſome that thoſe only ſhould be ſingled out who were carried away with reſpect to their company, and if they were alone would think and do otherewiſe: others thought it utterly unfit becauſe it might ſeem *olere artificium aliquod*, to favour of a trick, whereas it beſt became the Synod to do all things *candide & ſyncere*: others would have no man examined alone but when all the reſt were by: others left it to the judgement of the *Præſes* to do as he thought good when occaſion ſerved: which laſt ſentence as it ſeemed ſtood good. After this was there a generall exception againſt the manner in which they had propoſed their ſentence: that they had done it *confuſe, diſtracte, & obſcure*: that they had intermingled things impertinent and belonging to other queſtions: that the moſt of their propoſalls were negatives what they did not hold, and not affirmatives what they did; whereas their appearance there was to ſhew what they did hold, not what they did not hold. And it was diſcovered that this their proceding by negatives was, that they might take occaſions to refute other opinions, and not to confirm their own; whereas by the decree of the States they were call'd thither *ut ſententiam SV AM dilucidè, perſpicuè &c. exponerent & defenderent* not that they ſhould oppugne others. That it had been their cuſtom very liberally to examine other mens opinions and to be ſparing in confirming their own. That if they did refuſe to deal more plainly in expounding their mind, the Synod ſhould take order that the ſtate of the queſtion ſhould be taken out of their books, eſpecially

out

our of the *Hague* conference, and ſo they ſhould be queſtioned whether they would ſtand to it or no: that they did maintain amongſt them an implicite faith, and it was uſuall with ſome of them, when they were preſt with any reaſon they could not put by, to anſwer that though themſelves could ſay little to it, yet ſuch and ſuch could ſay much, which was enough for them. When all had ſpoken their pleaſure, the concluſion of the Synod was, that they muſt reform the manner of propounding their mind: that they muſt give up their anſwer in affirmatives, as much as was poſſible: that this form of anſwer was not according to the Decree of the States: and this was the effect of that Seſſion.

On Friday the $\frac{4}{14}$, of Decemb. there was a ſhort Seſſion in the morning. The matter propounded was, whether it were not fit that the Remonſtrants ſhould be required to give up their minds concerning all the five points before the Synod proceeded to examine or determine any thing. The reaſon was, the connexion of the points mutually one with another, for which cauſe it was hard to determine of one, except their mind in the reſt were known. The Secular Lords and the Synod liked well of the propoſall. Thoſe of *Geneva* thought it beſt to take their opinions out of their books: to which the *Præſes* anſwer'd, that it could not be, becauſe they were call'd thither by their citatory Letters to propoſe and defend their own opinions. That they could not complaine of the Synod for calling on them thus at once to deliver themſelves. For the Synod doubts not that they were provided, ſince themſelves had long ſince given it out in their books and private ſpeeches that they were provided. The Remonſtrants then being called in, were told that it was the determination of the Synod that they ſhould deliver their opinions at once concerning the five points; and for this they had given them time till Munday. For this would prove better for the Synod and for themſelves. Then that they ſhould deliver themſelves in affirmatives as much as poſſibly might be. For by their negatives they delivered not their own opinions, but diverted upon others. The Confeſſions and Creeds had always been framed by affirmatives; thus or thus wee do believe; not by negatives. To this they replied, *Attendemus ad ea quæ a Domino Præſide dicta ſunt & conſiderabimus.* Then did the *Præſes* ſignifie that on the morrow there ſhould be a Latin ſermon in the Synod houſe. *Scultetus* is the man that makes it. And this is the effect of what was done at that time and ſo ceaſing to trouble your Lordſhip any farther at this time, I humbly take my leave, reſting.

Dort *this* 15. *of* Decemb. 1618. *ſtyle novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

THe ſeventh of *December*, *ſtylo novo*, being Friday, in the morning the Synod met; the firſt thing that was done, was the pronouncing the Decree of the States concerning *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* to this effect, That whereas the Remonſtrants had petitioned to the States, that *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* might be admitted into the Synod, there to defend the Remonſtrants Cauſe, the Lords for good cauſes thought they neither ought, nor could grant it; yet thus much did they graciouſly permit, that they might freely come in private, and do them what help they could; and if they thought, that in any thing they ſaw further into the Cauſe then their Brethren, they might have leave to exhibit their minde in writing to the Synod. Provided, Firſt, that they had leave of the Synod ſo to do. Secondly, that they did not ſeek any frivolous delayes: Thirdly, that they promis'd to ſubmit themſelves to the Decree of the *Synod*: and laſt of all, that the Church Cenſures reſpectively paſs'd on *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* be not prejudiced; but ſtand ſtill in their full force and vertue. This Decree was conſented unto by the whole Synod. Here the *Præſes* admoniſht thoſe of *Utrecht* to provide themſelves, and reſolve what they would do; whether they would profeſs themſelves parties for the Remonſtrants, or keep their places, and ſit as Judges; if they would expreſs as parties, then muſt they ceaſe to be accounted part of the Synod, and be accounted as *Epiſcopius* and the reſt that were *cited*. They requir'd that time might be given them to deliberate. The *Præſes* eagerly urged them to give their reſolute anſwer. They replyed it was a greater matter then might ſo ſoon be diſpatch't. So far they went, that at length they fell on ſome warm words. For when two of the Remonſtrants Deputies by chance ſpake both at once, the *Præſes* admoniſht them to ſpeak *modeſtiùs & ornatiùs*. For men here ſpeak one by one, and not by pairs. But here the Secular Deputies ſtrook in, and thought fit they ſhould have time of reſpite till the morrow: yet ſo that in the mean time the Synod ſhould proceed: Then were the Remonſtrants call'd in, and the Decree of the States concerning *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* read unto them: *Epiſcopius* ſtanding up requir'd that a little time might be granted to them to ſpeak, and forthwith uttered an Oration, *acrem ſanè & animoſam*, and about which, by reaſon of ſome particulars in it, there will grow ſome ſtirre. The effect of the Oration was this.

That

THat Religion was the chiefeſt note of a man; and we were more diſtinguiſhed by it from other Creatures, then by our Reaſon. That their apparence before the Synod was, ut illam etiam Spartam ornarent, that they might endeavour ſomething for the preſervation of the Purity of Religion: That Religion was nothing elſe but a right Conceit and Worſhip of God: That the Conceits concerning God are of two ſorts; ſome abſolutely neceſſary, which were the grounds of all true Worſhip; in theſe to erre might finally endanger a man; Some not abſolutely neceſſary; and in theſe ſometimes without great danger men might miſtake; That they deſcryed many conceits paſſing in our Churches which could not ſtand with the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God, with the uſe of the Sacraments, with the Duties of Chriſtian men; Theſe had given occaſion to the Adverſaries abroad to accuſe our Churches, and lay upon them many ſtrange imputations, That therefore their endeavour had been none other but to remove theſe imputations, and to provide, as much as in them lay, that the Conceits of ſome few might not paſs for the general Doctrine of our Churches; But this their endeavour had hitherunto had but ill ſucceſs: And as in a diſeaſed body many times when Phyſick is adminiſtred, the humours which before were quiet are now ſtirred, and hence the body proves more diſtempered: ſo their endeavours to cure the Church had cauſed greater diſorder, yet in this had they not offended. For they labour'd to none other end, but that the Church might not be traduced by reaſon of the private conceits of ſome of her Miniſters. That in this behalf the world had been exceedingly incenſed againſt them: but this Envy they eſteemed their Gloriam & Palmarium; That for this they did not mean to forſake their Cauſe, and were it ſo that they ſhould loſe the day, yet would they joy in it, and think it glory enough, magnis auſis excediſſe. That this their ſtirring was not de lana caprina, of ſmall, frivolous, and worthleſs matters, of mere quirks of Wit, as many of the common ſort were perſwaded, that out of this conceit it was that they had been ſo exceedingly roughly dealt withall, yea they might ſay ſœvitum fuiſſe againſt them, as againſt unneceſſary Innovators in the Church: Firſt matters were handled againſt them clanculariy, and by ſtealth, after this they brake out into open but falſe accuſations, and after this into wrath, into ſcoffing and bitterneſs, till at length effractis moderationis repagulis, every one came with open mouth againſt them, tanquam in publici odii victimas. [Here followed a grave and ſerious invocation of Chriſt as a witneſs to the truth of what they ſaid] True

indeed

indeed it was, that in their Books many things were to be found amiſſe. For a very hard matter they thought it for mindes exaſperated ſemper rectum clavem tenere. *That for the ſetling of theſe things, there could but three courſes be thought of; either a National Synod, or a mutual Tollera-tion of each others Opinions, or the Ceſſion and Reſignation of their Calling and place in the Church. To quit them of their calling and to fly, this were a note of the Hireling: as for a Synod, which they much deſired,* remorabantur qui minime debebant, *and it was pretended that the condition of the Times would not ſuffer it. There remains only a mutual Tollera-tion, of the poſſibility of which alone they had hope. And for this end they did exceed-ingly approve of the Decree of the States of* Holland, *and* Weſt-fryzeland, *which they thought confirmed by the examples of* Beza's *dealing with ſome, of their own dealing with the* Lutherans, *of the Advice of the King of* Great Brittain: *But all this was labour loſt; for there was a buzze and jealouſie ſpread in the heads of men, that under this larve, this whiſling Suit of Tol-leration there lay perſonated more dangerous deſignes: that behinde this,* tanquam poſt ſiparium, *there lay intents of opening a way to the Profeſſion of all the ancient Hereſies: and that the Remonſtrants could* pro tempore, Conſcientiæ ſuæ imperare quod volunt, *upon this began mens minds to be alienated from them: which thing at length brake forth into Schiſm and open Separation. Now began their books to be more narrowly inquir'd into, every line, every phraſe, every word and tittle to be ſtretcht to the uttermoſt, to prove them Hereticks. Witneſs that late work, intituled* Specimen Controverſiarum Belgicarum, *whoſe Authors credit and good dealing had already in part appeared, and hereafter farther would appear. That all Fundamental points of Divinity they had preſerved untouched. For they knew that there were many things of which it is not lawful to diſpute, and they abhorr'd from that conceit of many men, who would believe nothing but what they were able to give a Reaſon of. That what they queſtioned was only ſuch a matter, which for a long time had been, without danger, both* pro *and* contra *diſputed of. They thought it ſufficient if the chief points of Religion remain unſhaken. That there had been always ſundry Opinions even amongſt the Fathers them-ſelves, which yet had not broken out into ſeparation of mindes, and breach of Charity. That it was impoſſible for all wits to jump in one point. It was the Judgement of* Paræus *a great Divine, that the greateſt cauſe of Contentions in the Church was this, that the Schoolmens Concluſions, and Cathedral Deciſi-ons had been receiv'd as Oracles, and Articles of Faith. That they were there-*

therefore unjuſtly charged with the bringing in of a Sceptick Theologie: They ſought for nothing elſe but for that liberty which is the mean betwixt ſervitude and Licenſe. That now they appear'd before the Synod, whether as cited, *or otherwiſe, they were not careful. They had been preſent howſoever had it been lawful. They requir'd the Forreigners not to judge of them as they had heard abroad, but as they now ſhould finde them. That they profeſs they oppoſe themſelves, firſt againſt thoſe Concluſions concerning Predeſtination, which the Authors themſelves have call'd* Horrida Decreta. *Secondly, againſt thoſe who for the Five Articles ſo call'd have made a Separation, never expecting any Synodical Sentence: Thirdly, againſt thoſe who caſt from them all thoſe who in ſome things diſſent from them. And yet to raiſe the controverſy greater, is the queſtion of the right of Magiſtrates added above all the reſt, which they maintain'd againſt thoſe, who taught the Magiſtrate ſhould with a hoodwinkt obedience accept of what the Divines taught, without farther enquiry. Theſe are the points for which we have contended. Give unto us that reſpect which your ſelves would look for at our hands, if you were in our caſe; we have not ambitiouſly ſued to any: the Favour of God alone it is which we have ſought; Look not upon this ſmall number which you ſee,* Unus Patronus bonæ cauſæ ſatis eſt. *'Tis not the ſmaller number that makes the Schiſm. If a major part carry the right, what think you then of the Province of* Utrecht, *where the greater parts are Remonſtrants: From you doth the Schiſme proceed, Firſt here in this Synod, by making ſo an unequal a choice of Deputies with ſo ſmall a number of Remonſtrants. Secondly by proceeding againſt us abroad, not expecting a Synodal Decree, by caſhiering and ſubjecting unto Cenſures the chief Patrons of our Cauſe,* eos apud quos ſunt aquilæ noſtræ: *and peradventure, even at this very hour you proceed againſt ſome of ours by ſuſpending, diſcommuning, by expelling them from their Churches, &c. But yet we caſt not away our Swords; The Scriptures and ſollid Reaſon ſhall be to us inſtead of multitudes. The Conſcience reſts not it ſelf upon the number of Suffrages, but upon the ſtrength of Reaſon.* Tam parati ſumus vinci, quam vincere. *He gets a great Victory, that being conquer'd gains the Truth.* Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, amica Synodus, ſed magis amica Veritas.

Theſe

Theſe are the Fragments of *Epiſcopius* his ſpeech, as far as my Memory and broken notes could ſupply me; I ſuppoſe what Errors I have committed by leaving out, miſplacing, miſrelating, Mr. *Ames*, when he comes to your Honour will rectify, this and much more for an *hours ſpace, he delivered with great grace of ſpeech, and Oratorial geſture*: The *Præſes* ſignified unto him, that becauſe there were in his ſpeech many things conſiderable, he was therefore to deliver the Copy of it: *Epiſcopius* replyed, that he had none handſomely written, if the Synod would have patience, he would cauſe a fair Tranſcript to be drawen for them; But this excuſe would not ſerve. Fair or foul deliver it up he muſt, and ſo he did: The Deputies for the Politicks ſignified, that ſince there were many things in it, which did as well concern the Seculars, as Eccleſiaſticks, they were to give it up ſubſcribed with all their hands: which forthwith was done. Then did the *Præſes* tell them how much they were beholding to the Synod, that had ſo patiently heard them, notwithſtanding that they had no leave granted them to ſpeak, and that they ought to have expected the Mandate of the Synod. To this *Epiſcopius* replyes, that he had required leave before he began to ſpeak; True, ſaid the *Præſes*, but you ſtayed not till leave was granted you; beſides, ſaith he, you are to know that no man may, no not of thoſe that are the members of the Synod, offer to declaim without leave firſt had, and without manifeſting the Argument and drift of his ſpeech. After this followed a *Form of Oath* preſcribed by the States, which all the Members of the Synod were to take, the Articles of it were theſe two, *That* "*only the Word of God ſhould be taken for their rule to end their queſtions*, " and *that they had no other purpoſe but the peace of the Church*. Firſt the *Præſes* took his oath in this order, ſtanding up in his place, he ſaid, *Ego promitto coram Deo*, (thus, and thus) *ita propitius mihi ſit Servator Chriſtus*. Then the Provincials took every one in his order, ſtanding in his place, and pronouncing theſe words, *Idem promitto coram Deo & ſancto Servatore*, only the Remonſtrants Deputies of *Utrecht* took not the Oath, becauſe as yet they had not determined, whether they would make themſelves parties or Judges; After the Provincials did the Forreigners in order do the like, and ſo the Seſſion ended. And with it I think is time for me to end, and commend your Lordſhip to Gods good Protection.

Dort *this 7. of* Decemb.
1618. *ſtylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain
and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Saterday $\frac{1}{7}$ of this preſent, the Synod being ſate in the Morning, *Scultetus* made unto them a pious, and pathetical Sermon. In the beginning he ſignified, firſt how it joyed him to ſpeak unto them *Poſt eruditiſſimum virum Joſephum Hallum, Decanum Wigorniæ meritiſſimum.* Secondly, that he ſaw that day, that which his Majeſty of *Great Brittain*, and the Prince *Elector* his Maſter had ſo long deſired to ſee, namely a Synod gathered for the ſetling of the Churches peace in theſe Countries. He took for his Theme the 122. *Pſalm. I rejoyced when they ſaid unto me, Let us go up unto the houſe of the Lord*, and ſo forth unto the end of the *Pſalm.* Where firſt having ſhewed the occaſion of this Pſalm, that it was the Removal and bringing of the Ark unto *Jeruſalem*, he conſidered in the whole Pſalm three things. Firſt, that it was *Summum hominis gaudium*, to ſee the Peace and flouriſhing of the Church; which he ſhewed by many Reaſons, and confirmed by the examples of the Duke of *Wittemberg*, who at the Council held at *Worms* a hundred and twenty years ſince, when others diſcourſed of many Priviledges and conveniences of their Lordſhips and Territories, openly proteſted it to be his greateſt felicity, that he could *in aperto campo, & in ſinu Subditorum ſuorum aormire*: and of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, who at his death did more comfort himſelf that he had been a Son of the Church, then the Emperour of the World. Secondly, that it was *Summum hominis Votum* to pray for the peace and flouriſhing of the Church: which he confirmed by the examples of the Apoſtles and of Chriſt himſelf. Thirdly, that it was *Summum hominis ſtudium* to procure the peace of the Church. where ſpeaking of the preſent occaſion, I am no Prophet (ſaith he) yet I think I foreſee, that the peace of the *Belgick Churches* would be a means to ſettle the peace of other Churches. He therefore wiſht that the States, the Prince, the Delegates, would all propoſe unto themſelves as their end, the peace and flouriſhing of the Churches amongſt them, as he doubted not they did in calling this Synod There was not in this Sermon any Doctrinal point diſcuſt, nor any particular toucht, which might miniſter Newes. It was only a Pathetical exhortation to all ſorts, as much as in them lay to procure the Churches peace. When he had done, the *Præſes* publikely in the name of the Synod gave him thanks, and proteſted himſelf to have been very much moved with his ſpeeches. Beſides this there was nothing done that Seſſion.

Upon Munday $\frac{1}{7}$, of this preſent, the Synod coming together in the Forenoon, there were two out of *Wetteraw* from the Counties of *Naſſau*, *Biſterfeldius* a Preacher, and *Jo. Henricus Alſtedius*, Profeſſor of Divinity in *Herborne* came as Deputies from the Churches in thoſe parts,

to be admitted as parts of the Synod. The Letters from the States General, and then their Credential Letters from their Churches first being read, the Oath was read unto them, and they took it. Then did the *Præses* in the Name of the Synod welcom them, and told them the end of their coming, and what theſe Churches expected at their hands Then were the Remonſtrants call'd in, and willed to declare their opinion concerning the reſt of the Articles: which they did at large, and added ſome Apologies for their proceeding by Negatives (which I could your Lordſhip formerly had been the Exception of the Synod againſt the manner held by them in the firſt Article.) I will not give a brief of what they then delivered, becauſe I reſolve to ſend your Lordſhip the perfect Copy of it, as ſoon as I can come to copie it out. When they had done the *Præſes* asked them, whether they were provided to deliver up their Conſiderations concerning the Confeſſion and Catechiſme, for the Synod expected it. They anſwered that they expected not the Synod ſhould call for them. The *Præſes* replyed, this could not excuſe them, for they had often told the world in their Books, that they had *paratam ſylvam conſiderationum* in that kinde: and that the Synod ſhould better judge of each part, when it had learned their opinion of the whole. They requir'd leave to withdraw a little, and think of an anſwer. In the mean time the *Præſes* propoſed to the Synod, to conſider how well the Remonſtrants had ſtood to the Decree of the Synod, concerning the propoſal of their Tenents in Affirmatives, he thought that they had offended more againſt it, and that purpoſely in bringing their Apologie for ſo doing: in cenſuring the opinions of other Churches for blaſphemous, &c. Howſoever it was their judgement that they ſhould propoſe their ſentence in Negatives, yet they ought not to have propoſed, but to have ſubmitted their judgement to the judgement of the Synod. The Remonſtrants returning, gave anſwer to this effect: that though they might require time to give up their Conſiderations, yet they thought they were not bound to give them up, till the five Articles were diſcuſt; ſince their Citatory Letters ſo ran, that firſt the Articles, then their Conſiderations ſhould come in place: that they thought it ſome wrong done them to have this order now perverted. The *Præſes* anſwered that no wrong was done them; for their Conſiderations ſhould not yet be ſifted, till the five Articles were concluded. And ſo the order in their Citatory Letters ſhould be kept. That long ſince in a Synod at *Delpht* they had promis'd to deliver them up in a Provincial Synod there, and therefore now after ſo many years they could not be unprovided. Here the *Præſes Politicus* charged them to obey their Decree, and to do as the *Præſes* and the Synod requir'd. The *Præſes Eccleſiaſticus* then admoniſht them, that they were not to accompt

of

of themſelves as a Colledg, and ſo ſtill to give anſwers *in commune*, but they muſt anſwer particularly every one for himſelf; and thereupon he asked every of them in order, whether they had any ſuch Conſideration or no: ſome anſwered they had, ſome that they had ſome few of no great moment, ſome that their Conſiderations were not written down, ſome that they had none at all. When the *Præſes* had ſaid, *jactatum fuiſſe* by them long ſince, that they had ſundry Conſiderations ready; *Corvinus* excepted againſt the word *jactatum*; the *Præſes* replyed, He uſed not the word to diſgrace them, but only as a Frequentative, to ſignifie that they had often boaſted of it. When ſome Litigation was here fallen, *Martinus Gregorii* (one that ſits cloſe upon the Remonſtrants skirts) cut it off, and commanded them to be quiet. The Remonſtrants here ſignified, that ſuch Conſiderations as they had were only in the *Dutch* tongue. The *Præſes* replyed, they ſhould have leaſure to tranſlate them. Then did the Seculars pronounce a Decree charging them to provide themſelves ſingly one by one, he that had many to give up many, he that had few to give up few, he that had none to give up none, and that whether it were in Dutch or Latine. The Remonſtrants required ſome time; for, ſaith *Epiſcopius*, we came *imparatiſſimi ad hanc rem*. Firſt there were given them to two dayes, then three, then four: within which ſpace every man alone by himſelf, was to give up his Conſiderations: and this was the effect of the Seſſion.

The anſwer of the *Engliſh* Divines to the Remonſtrants exception againſt the Synod, I will ſend your Lordſhip in my next Letters, together with the Remonſtrants anſwer upon the later Articles. *Harman* the Poſt came to *Dort* on Sunday about three of the clock, and went for *England* on Munday about ten of the clock in the morning. Mr. *Dean* of *Worceſter* is very crazy and ſickly of late, and keeps his Chamber, neither hath he been in the Synod ſome of theſe laſt Seſſions. I hear he purpoſes to come to the *Hague*, to ſee if he ſhall have his health better there. Here is a Rumour that the Remonſtrants are a little divided amongſt themſelves; and that *Corvinus* complains that what he hath done, was becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn on by others, how true this is I know not; I heard *Scultetus* tell my Lord Biſhop ſo much, and that *Meierus* of *Baſil*, ſhould ſay that *Corvinus* had ſignified ſo much to him. My Lord Biſhop is a little diſpleaſed with Mr. *Amyes* for putting into his hand *Grevinchovius* his Book, in the Preface of which there are cited out of a Writing of Mr. *Amyes* certain words very reproachful unto Biſhops. Other Newes here is none, and therefore for this time ceaſing any further to trouble your Honour; I humbly take my leave, reſting

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

ON Thurſday $\frac{18}{28}$ of this preſent, in the morning the Synod being met, the firſt thing done was the Admiſſion of the *Scotiſh* Deputy in this manner. He was brought to the Synod Houſe by the two Scribes, and met at the door by two of the Deputies for the States, and by them conducted to his Seat, which is a little ſeat made under the *Engliſh* Seats, where he ſits alone; when he was ſate the *Præſes* welcom'd him in the Name of the Synod. Then were the Letters from the States read, which were to ſtand inſtead of Synodical Letters; for otherwiſe the cuſtom is here, that he that comes to be a Member of the Synod brings Letters of Credence from the Church that deputes him. After this he delivered himſelf in a ſhort ſpeech to this effect. That "the reaſon of his coming he had delivered unto the States at the "*Hague*, namely the Kings pleaſure: that he therefore once minded "to have ſaid nothing, but he could not obtain ſo much of himſelf, "eſpecially when he heard what gentle Welcome the *Præſes* gave "him, and he was deſirous to ſhew himſelf thankful for ſuch great "Courteſie; That the *Scotch* Nation had evermore ſo linkt it ſelf to "this people, that it hath alwayes laboured to endeavour the peace of "this State, and now it was ready to do as much for the peace of "the Churches amongſt them. That they had very ſtraightly bound "unto them the *Scotiſh* Church (*demeruiſtis Eccleſiam Scoticanam*) by "this ſo kindly welcoming him. That his years were not many, but he "hoped ere he departed to make amends for that; That the King at his "coming away did charge him, *verbis ſublimibus, above all ſphere of Con-*"*ceit and apprehenſion* to exhort them unto peace, and with a ſhort "paſſage to that purpoſe he ended. The *Præſes* thanking him for his good Counſel gave him his Oath. And ſo they paſt away to other buſineſs.

To morrow I trowe we ſhall have more matter, for then the Remonſtrants are to give in their Exceptions, againſt the Catechiſme and Confeſſion, and ſo at length we ſhall come to the Queſtion. For this time therefore I humbly take my leave of your Honour, reſting

Your Honours Chaplain, and
bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

UPon Thurſday the $\frac{13}{27}$ of this preſent, the Deputies being met in the morning, the Remonſtrants were called in, and willed to give up their Conſiderations upon the Catechiſm, according to the injunction laid on them on Friday laſt. *Epiſcopius, Corvinus, Duinghonius, Poppius, Pinakerus* and *Sapma* gave up altogether in common, and excuſed themſelves, for not giving up one by one, as was enjoind them, becauſe their Conſiderations being altogether the ſame, they thought they might exhibit them altogether; *Niellius, Goſwinus, Matthiſius*, and *Iſaacus Frederici*, gave up ſingly, every one by himſelf, the reſt gave up none at all. What theſe Conſiderations were I know not; for they were not publiſht. Then did the *Præſes* require them *coram Deo* to anſwer directly and truly, Firſt whether or no theſe were the Obſervations which they gave up to the States of *Holland*; to which was anſwer'd, that as far as they could remember they were, and ſome others beſides. Secondly, whether they had any more Conſiderations beſides theſe; to which they all anſwered, No. Here *Scultetus* ſtood up, and in the name of the *Palatine* Churches, required a Copie of theſe Conſiderations upon the Catechiſm. We have ſaith he a command from our Prince to ſee that nothing be done in prejudice of our Churches. The Catechiſm is ours known by the name of the *Palatine Catechiſm*, and from us you receiv'd it. The Obſervations therefore upon it concern us, we require therefore a draught of them, with purpoſe to anſwer them, and ſubmit our anſwer to the judgement of the Synod. This requeſt of the *Palatines* was thought very reaſonable. Theſe Conſiderations (I ſpeak of thoſe on the Confeſſion; for thoſe others I ſaw not) are nothing elſe but *Queries* upon ſome paſſages of the Confeſſion, of little or no moment: ſo that it ſeems a wonder unto many, how theſe men, which for ſo many years paſt, in ſo many of their Books, have threatned the Churches with ſuch wonderful diſcoveries of falſhood and error in their Confeſſion and Catechiſm, ſhould at laſt produce ſuch poor impertinent ſtuff. There is not, I perſwade my ſelf, any writing in the world, againſt which wits diſpoſed to wrangle cannot take abundance of ſuch exceptions. After this did the *Præſes* put the Remonſtrants in minde of the judgement of the Synod paſt upon the manner of propounding their *Theſes* on the Articles. Two things there were miſliked. Firſt their propounding ſo many Negatives. Secondly, their urging ſo much to handle the point of Reprobation, and that in the firſt place; whereas the Synod requir'd they ſhould deliver themſelves, as much as was

poſſible

poſſible in Affirmatives, and begin firſt from Election, and from thence come to the point of Reprobation in its due place. He required them therefore to ſignifie whether they would follow the Judgement of the Synod, or their own. They anſwered, that they had given up their reaſons to juſtifie their proceeding, and otherwiſe to proceed their *Conſcience* would not permit them. For, ſaith *Epiſcopius*, the point of Reprobation is that *quod maximè nos ægrè habet* : that he could not endure that Doctrine concerning the abſolute Decree of God; *that God ſhould peremptorily decree to caſt the greateſt part of mankinde away, only becauſe he would*. *Corvinus* anſwer'd, that he could not *ſalvâ Conſcientiâ verſari in Miniſterio*, till that point were clear'd. *Iſaacus Frederici*, that *præcipuum momentum* was in that queſtion: others, that in the queſtion of Election they had no ſcruple; all their doubt was in the point of Reprobation: and therefore their Conſcience would not ſuffer them to proceed farther in diſputation, till that matter were diſcuſt. To this anſwer was made, that the Synod did not refuſe to handle the matter of Reprobation, but thought it not fit to have it done in the firſt place. But when this would not content them, the *Præſes* propoſed unto them, whether they were reſolv'd ſo to proceed, or elſe to relinquiſh all farther diſputation. They replied, they reſolved to break of all farther Treaty, if that matter might not be handled. It was told them, that it ſhould be treated of in its due place, but the queſtion was only *de modo procedendi*, whether they ſhould handle that firſt or no. *Epiſcopius* and ſome others of them gave anſwer, that for the order they did not preciſely ſtand upon, *modo de tota re agatur*: but this anſwer they ſtood not unto. For when the *Præſes* told them again, that it was the pleaſure of the Synod, firſt to handle of Election, and then of Reprobation as much as ſhould ſeem neceſſary, and for the Churches good, and withall charged them to anſwer roundly and Categorically whether they would proceed according to this order: they anſwered, No. Then did the *Præſes* require them to withdraw, and give the Synod leave to adviſe of this: The ſum of that which paſt in the mean time was this: That their pretence of Conſcience was vain, ſince it was not of any thing which concern'd Faith or good manners, but only of order and method in diſputing, which could not at all concern the Conſcience; that the Diſputation muſt begin from Election. Firſt becauſe the order of Nature ſo requir'd, to deal of the Affirmative before the Negative; and again, becauſe that all Divines, who ever handled this Queſtion, did hold the ſame order; and the Holy Ghoſt in Scripture had taken the ſame courſe. That they ſhould be aſſured in the name of the Synod, that they ſhould have Liberty to diſcuſſe the queſtion of Predeſtination throughout. That whatſoever they pretended, yet the true end of

their

their ſo hotly urging the queſtion of Reprobation, was only to exagitate the Contra-Remonſtrants Doctrine, and to make way for their own Doctrine in point of Election: *Lydius* obſerved, that it had been the Cuſtome of all thoſe who favour'd *Pelagianiſm*, to trouble the Church, with the queſtion of Reprobation. " *D. Gomarus* that ſaw that his Iron " was in the fire, (for I perſwade my ſelf that the Remonſtrants ſpleen is " chiefly againſt him) began to tell us, that *Epiſcopius* had falſified the " Tenent of Reprobation: that no man taught that God abſolutely " decreed to caſt man away without ſin: but as he did decree the end, " ſo he did decree the means: that is, as he predeſtinated man to death, " ſo he predeſtinated him to ſin, the only way to death: and ſo he " mended the queſtion, as *Tinkers mend Kettles*, and made it worſe then " it was before. In ſumme the Synod cauſed a Decree to be penn'd to this purpoſe. *That it ſhould be lawful for the Remonſtrants to propoſe their Doubts, both in the Queſtion of Election, and of Reprobation: but for the order in diſputation, which of the two ſhould come firſt, they ſhould leave that to the Synod, who thought it fitter to give, then to receive Laws; and that whereas they pretended Conſcience, it was but vain, ſince there was nothing in Scripture againſt this Command of the Synod; nay that it was more agreeable with Conſcience to obey then to withſtand.* Then were the Remonſtrants called in, and after a ſhort admoniſſion better to adviſe themſelves, the Decree of the Synod was read unto them. And when they began to urge their Conſcience, the *Præſes Politicus* ſpake to this purpoſe: that there had heretofore been many Decrees made by the Delegates, but they had been all neglected, he therefore ſtrictly warn'd them, that no man ſhould dare to withſtand any Decree either of the Magiſtrate, or of the Synod, either by open oppoſing againſt it, or by ſullen ſilence, under pain of penalty according to the will of the Lords. When *Epiſcopius* had ſaid *ægerimè ferimus*, and would have ſaid ſomewhat more, he was enjoyn'd ſilence, and ſo the Seſſion ended, Mr. *Præſes* telling us, that the next Seſſion we ſhould come to the queſtion, *ſi per Remonſtrantes liceret.*

Now concerning *Monſieur Moulins* Propoſals, of which your Lordſhip requir'd to know what I thought, I will deliver my ſelf in my next Letters to your Honour. In the mean time commending your Honour to Gods good protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* $\frac{17}{27}$. *of* Decemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Friday $\frac{11}{21}$ of *Decemb.* in the morning it was long ere the Synod met. At length being come together, there were read the two Decrees; one of the States, another of the Synod, made the former Session: the reason of the repeating was the absence of some the day before. Then did the *Præses* signify, that that very morning, immediately before the time of the Synod, he had received from the Remonstrants Letters *satis prolixas*, which concern'd himself and the whole Synod; the perusal of which Letters was the cause of his long stay. The Letters were sent to the *Secular* Delegates to know whether or no they would have them read. Whilst the Seculars were advising of this point, there were brought in a great heap of the Remonstrants Books, and laid upon the Table before the *Præses*: for what end it will appear by and by. The Secular Delegates signifie, that they think not fit that the Letters should be publickly read, and that the Remonstrants should immediately be call'd in. They being entred, the *Præses* askt them whether they were ready to obey the Orders set down by the States and the Synod: They require to have their Letters read: but the Seculars willed them, instead of reading their *Letters*, to hearken to a Decree of the *States*, and forthwith was read a Decree sounding to this purpose: that the *States* strictly commanded, that nothing should be read or spoken in the Synod in prejudice of the Decree made yesterday; but that they should without any further delay come to the business in hand. The Remonstrants reply, that except they may most freely propose their mindes in both the parts of Predestination, both Election and Reprobation they refused to go further in Conference, for that their *Conscience* would not permit them. The *Præses* replyed, that for liberty of proposal of their opinions they could not complain; for the Synod had given them *Libertatem Christianam, æquam, justam*: but such an absolute Liberty as they seemed to require, of going as far as they list, of oppugning before the Synod what opinions they pleased of learned men, this they thought unfit. And as for Conscience, they knew that the Word of God was the rule of it. Now what part of *Scripture* had they that favoured them in this behalf, or that did take any order and prescribe a Method in Disputation. By thus stiffely urging their Conscience they did exceedingly wrong the Decrees of the States and Synod, as if by them something against the Word of God, some impiety were commanded. When the *Præses* had thus said, he began to propose unto them certain Interrogatories concerning the Five Articles. Your Honour

may

may be pleaſed to call to minde, that in one of my former Letters I ſhewed, that becauſe the Remonſtrants had given up their opinions very perplexedly and imperfectly, the Synod had thought good that the *Præſes* ſhould propoſe them certain queſtions out of their own Writings, ſo the better to wreſt their meaning from them. This was the *Præſes* now beginning to do; and this was the cauſe of the bringing in of the Books. The Interrogatory propoſed was this, Whether or no they did acknowledge that the Articles exhibited in the *Hague Conference* did contein their opinions? *Epiſcopius* ſtept up, and required that it might be lawful for them to ſet down their own Tenents, and not be forced to anſwer thus to other mens Writings. *H. Leo* in choler told the *Præſes*, that he did evidently ſee, that it was the drift of the Synod, to diſcredit them with the Magiſtrate, and that for his own part he would rather leave his Miniſtry, then make any anſwer to theſe Interrogatories. The *Præſes* here adviſed him to bethink himſelf ſeriouſly, whether his Conſcience could aſſure him that this was a good cauſe of leaving his Miniſtry; becauſe he might not proceed in Diſputation according as he thought fit. *Wezekius* anſwer'd, that he would not ſubmit himſelf to this *examen*, and, *niſi poſſet liberrimè agi*, he would not anſwer at all. The ſame was the ſence of *Hollingerus* his anſwer. *Epiſcopius* plainly told them, *niſi in omnibus liberum eſſet* to do as they thought good, they would go no farther. For we are reſolv'd, ſaith he, *agere pro judicio noſtro, non pro judicio Synodi*: then one of the Seculars ſtept up, and willed thoſe words ſhould be noted. The *Præſes* then told them, that the true cauſe of all this their indiſpoſition was, that they forgot themſelves to be *Citati*, and that they were not acquainted with being commanded. They were to remember, that they ſtood before God, before their Magiſtrate, and that their cauſe was the cauſe of the Church, whoſe peace would not be procured by this behaviour. They might remember what they told the Forreign Divines in their Letters to them, that there was of late a great *Metamorphoſis* in the State. *Non eſtis nunc judices & Domini rerum, ſed Citati*: but as it ſeem'd, they were reſolv'd to ſuffer, *omnino nullum judicium de iis fieri*. *Epiſcopius* here urged his Conſcience. *Adde Verbum Dei* then ſaith the *Præſes*, ſhew us upon what Text of Scripture you ground your Conſcience, otherwiſe you wrong both the Magiſtrate and the Synod. *Corvinus* anſwered, that that ſcantling of Liberty, which the Synod gave them, did not ſuffice their Conſciences. *Poppius* likewiſe required larger Liberty, and that he might not be dealt withall by Authority, but by Reaſon. The *Præſes* anſwered, that in Conſcience he could not give them greater Liberty, then they had already given them, and therefore askt him if he would anſwer to the Interrogatories. He ſtoutly replyed, *Malo quidvis pati*. *Sapma* replyed

to the ſame purpoſe, and over and above added, *Ut noſtrum judicium non ſatisfacit Synodo, ita nec Synodi Judicium noſtro.* *Rickwardius* told the Synod, that they dealt not charitably with them, and openly proteſted, as *Epiſcopius* had before done, *non agemus pro judicio Synodi, ſed pro judicio noſtro.* The *Præſes* replyed, *vocem hanc eſſe intollerandam.* *Niellius* excepted againſt this proceeding with them *capitatim*, and requir'd that they might conſult in common what anſwer to give. For my ſelf, ſaith he, I am a man of no ready ſpeech, and unfit for ſudden diſputation. Too great advantage is taken againſt men, by this kinde of proceeding. Many members of the Synod, were they thus ſingled out to give a ſudden anſwer, might eaſily peradventure be put to ſome diſtreſs. *Nullam eſſe cauſam tam juſtam, de qua non facile poſſit triumphari, ſi de ea agatur tantum pro arbitrio adverſarii.* The *Præſes* told them that here was nothing requir'd, but that they would give a reaſon of their Faith, which they had for this many years taught in their Pulpits, & in their Writings, & therefore they could not be unprovided to give an anſwer; and for that they mentioned the Synod as an Adverſary, they had been already taught ſufficiently by the Forreign Divines that the Synod could not be counted *pars adverſa*: they anſwer'd, that they requir'd a copie of the reaſons given by the Forreign Divines, that they might conſider of them; but they were denyed it. Here was by one of them, I know not whom, a reply made, that the Remonſtrants in refuſing to proceed except they might freely handle the point of Reprobation, did no other then the Contra-Remonſtrants had formerly done in the *Hague Conference*, who there openly refuſed to proceed, if they were urged to have the ſame point handled; notwithſtanding the command of the Magiſtrate. *Feſtus Hommius* replyed, that the narration was falſified; for the Contra-Remonſtrants did not ſimply refuſe to deal in the point of Reprobation; neither did the Magiſtrate command them to do it, as now he had commanded them. And thus much did ſome of the Secular Deputies ſtand up and give witneſs unto. *Epiſcopius* here urged ſome words out of the Conference, to prove what was ſaid; but what theſe words were I could not take. The *Præſes* went forward to propoſe the Interrogatories: *Goſwinus* and *Neranus* anſwer'd as their fellows had formerly done. *Iſaacus Frederici* urged for himſelf, that when he was removed from being a Member of the Synod, he was commanded *conjungere ſe Citatis*: this he could not do, if thus he was enforced to anſwer for himſelf alone. The *Præſes* anſwered, that by the Decree of the States they were accounted no Colledg; but only as they were cited, ſo were they to anſwer *Capitatim* and by Poll. And as for *Iſaacus*, ſince he knew that the Synod accounted of him as of one of the *Citati*, he could not be ignorant that his quality was the ſame with theirs.

Iſaacus

Iſaacus anſwer'd that he had evermore been averſe from ſudden diſputations, and therefore he meant not to anſwer. Here it was denyed by ſome of the Remonſtrants, that the States had made any Decree that they ſhould thus give anſwer *capitatim*. The Delegates for the Seculars ſtood up, and ſignified *viva voce*, that they had decreed it. *Epiſcopius* anſwer'd, that the Scribe (*Heinſius*) uſed ſome ſuch words, but he took it to have been only ſome phraſe of *Heinſius*, not any Decree of the Lords. *Heinſius* replyed that he did nothing but what he was commanded. *Epiſcopius* proteſted, that till that hour he never heard that by any Decree of the States they were enjoyn'd to anſwer thus ſingly, and by Poll. *Poppius* ſignifyed that he thought it a thing very unbefitting both his age and his Miniſtry, to ſubmit himſelf to ſuch a *Pedagogica collatio*, as ſometimes by *Martinus Gregorii* it had been ſtyled. The *Præſes* then askt them all in general, whether they did perſiſt in this their Anſwer. They all replyed, *Yea*. The Remonſtrants therefore being diſmiſt, the *Præſes* required the Synod to think what courſe they would take to proceed, proteſting that he thought that all Liberty befitting was grant unto them: and calling in the Remonſtrants again, and adviſing them to conſider what they did: they all replyed, that they were reſolv'd, *non capitatim, ſed conjunctim reſpondere*. The Preſident of the Politicks commanded them, that without peculiar leave granted, none of them ſhould go out of the Town. The *Præſes Eccleſiaſticus* adviſing the Synod to think of ſome courſe of gathering the Remonſtrants opinions out of their Books, ſince they could not get them from themſelves, diſmiſt the Company.

The ſame day after dinner was there a Seſſion, but very private, neither was any ſtranger permitted to be there. Wherefore a Relation of that Seſſion I muſt give only upon hearſay. Which I would now have done, but that I haſten to the Seſſion this morning. And I underſtand that the Synod will diſpatch ſome of their Company to the States General, to ſignify how matters ſtand, and to know their further pleaſure. I will here therefore ſhut up my Letters, reſerving the reſt of the News till the next occaſion, and commending your Honour to Gods good Protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* $\frac{13}{23}$. *of* Decemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

THe *S*tate of our ſynod now ſuffers a great *criſis*, and one way or other there muſt be an alteration. For either the Remonſtrant muſt yeeld, and ſubmit himſelf to the Synod, of which I ſee no great probability: or elſe, the Synod muſt vail to them, which to do, farther then it hath already done, I ſee not how it can ſtand with their Honour. How the caſe ſtood at the laſt Friday Seſſion, your Honor may perceive by my letters written upon Saterday. Three things there were mainly urged by the Synod, and as mainly withſtood by the Remonſtrants. The firſt was the point of order to be held in diſcuſſing the articles: whether the queſtion of Reprobation were to be handled after the five articles, as the Synod would have had it, becauſe it is none of the five points, and by order from the States nothing ought to be determined of till the five be diſcuſt: or whether it ſhould be handled in the firſt place, as the Remonſtrants would have it, becauſe, as they pretended, their doubts lay eſpecially there, and that being cleared, they thought they ſhould ſhew good conformity in the reſt. The ſecond thing, was the putting of Interrogatories, which thing they much diſdain'd as Predagogicall. Third was the Liberty of diſputation which was to be given the Remonſtrant, whether it were to be limited and circumſcribed by the diſcretion of the Synod, or large and unlimited, accordingly as it pleas'd the Remonſtrants. So ſtrongly in theſe points did the Remonſtrants withſtand the Synod, that on Friday laſt it was verily thought they would have gone their way, and left the Commiſſioners to determine without them. But the Synod bearing an inclination to peace, and wiſely conſidering the nature of their People, reſolved yet further, though they had yielded ſufficiently unto them already, yet to trie a little more, the rather to ſtay the clamour of the Country, and cut off all ſuſpicion of Partiall dealing. And for this purpoſe call'd a private Seſſion on Friday in the Evening, to mollify ſome things in their Decrees and Proceedings. From that Seſſion all *S*trangers were excluded, and what I write, I do only upon Relation. The ſumm of it was this. The *Præſes* much complain'd him of the perplexity he was in, by reaſon of the Pertinacy of the Remonſtrants. For, ſaith he, if we labor to keep them here, they will be but a hindrance to us, as hitherto they have been, if we diſmiſs them, we ſhall hazard our credit among the People, as if we purpoſed only to do what we pleaſe. Whatſoever it is that here we do, is by ſome that come hither and write all they hear, preſently eliminated, and carryed to them,

them which hath cauſed many hard, reports to paſs of us, both with them and otherwhere. He therefore commended to the *Synod* to conſider whether there might not be found ſome means of accommodation, which might ſomewhat mollify the Remonſtrant, and yet ſtand well with the Honour of the Synod. And firſt, to make way, they read the Letters which in the morning by publick Decree, of the States were forbidden to be read (*a pretty matter in ſo grave a place, to break thoſe edicts in the Evening, which but in the Morning had been ſo ſolemnly proclaimed*) and to ſpeak truth, their Decrees, have hitherto been mere matter of formality to affright them a little, for none of them have been kept; as being found to be Pouder without *Shot*, and give a clap, but do no harme.) The Letters being read they began to deliver their minds. Some thought the *Synod* had been too favourable to the Remonſtrants already, and that it were beſt now not to hold them if they would be going, ſince hitherto they had been, and for any thing appeared to the contrary, meant hereafter to be a hindrance to all Peacable and orderly proceedings. Others on the contrary thought fit that all ſhould be granted them which they required, to ſurceaſe the Interrogatories, to let them ſpeak of Reprobation in what place, in what manner, and how much they pleaſed, ſince this took from them all pretence of exception, and Prejudiced not the Synods power of determining what they pleaſed. A third ſort thought it better to hold a middle courſe and under colour of Explanation, to mollifie ſome of their Decrees. This ſort prevailed, and accordingly it was concluded that the Decree of the Synod (of this decree I gave your Honor the ſumm in my Satterday Letters) made in the Morning, ſhould be more largely and Significantly drawne, and withall in it ſhould be expreſt how far it pleaſed the Synod to be indulgent unto the Remonſtrants in the points in Queſtion. The Forraign Divines were requeſted, that they would conceive ſome Reaſons by way of Anſwer to theſe late Exceptions of the Remonſtrants, and give them up in writing the next Seſſion, to try whether by theſe means they might make them a little to relent. This is all was done that Seſſion, which though it ſeem but little, yet being handled with much and long Speaking among ſo many, took up a long time,

On Munday the $\frac{21}{31}$ of Decemb. in the Morning the Synod being ſet *Johannes Polyander* made a Latin Sermon. His Theme was the ſeventh verſe of the two and fiftieth of Iſaiah. *O quam ſpecioſi in montibus, &c.* he ſpake much of the greatneſs of Eccleſiaſticall Function; Firſt in regard of their dignity in the word *Specioſi*, Secondly of their induſtry, in the word *Montibus*, which argues them either to be *Paſtores* or *Speculatores*; Thirdly of the ſuavity of their Doctrine in the word *Peace*

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and *Good things*; After this he fell Pathetically to bewail the ſorme State of the *Belgick* Churches: and to commend the diligence of the Synod in endeavouring to eſtabliſh their Churches Peace. This was the ſum of his Sermon, it being only a paſſionate ſtrain, and conteining nothing much Remarkable either for Doctrine or News. The *Præſes* in the Name of the Synod gave him great thanks: and ſignified that he had many cauſes *Sperare optima quæque de Synodo*: but that Gods good Spirit was indeed amongſt them, he gather'd eſpecially by this Argument, that ſo many Learned and Pious Sermons had in this place been lately made and ſo He diſmiſt the Company.

Concerning *Monſieur Moulins* propoſition of which your Honor required my opinion, thus I think, His project conſiſts of two heads, of a Generall Confeſſion, and of a peaceable treaty for Union with the *Lutheran* Churches. I imagine that the Generallity of the Confeſſions muſt not include the *Lutheran*. For if it doth, then are both parts of his propoſition the ſame: it being the ſame thing to procure one generall Confeſſion of Faith and a Union. Suppoſing then that this Confeſſion ſtretches not to them, I will do as *Jupiter* doth in *Homer*, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἔασε παρὲξ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσε. I will grant him one part, and deny him the other. For a generall Confeſſion of Faith, at leaſt ſo farr as thoſe Churches ſtretch who have Delegates here in the Synod, I think his project very poſſible, there being no point of Faith in which they differ. If therefore the Churches ſhall give power to their Delegates, to propoſe it to the Synod, I ſee no reaſon but it ſhould paſs. But I did not like the intimation concerning Church-Goverment. It had I think been better not mentioned: not that I think it poſſible that all Churches can be Govern'd alike (for the *French* Church being *ſub cruce* cannot well ſet up Epiſcopall juriſdiction) but becauſe it may ſeem to his Majeſty of Great *Brittain*, that his excepting the point of Government might not proceed ſo much from the Conſideration of the Impoſſibility of the thing, as from want of love and liking of it in the Perſon. Now for that part of the propoſition which concerns the *Lutheran*, either it aimes at a Union in Opinion or a mutuall tolleration. The firſt is without all queſtion impoſſible. For in the point of the Sacrament and the dependences from it, as the ubiquity of *Chriſts* manhood, the Perſon of *Chriſt*, the *communicatio idiomatum*, &c. Either they muſt yield to us, or we to them, neither of which probable. Their opinions have now obtein'd for a Hundred years, ever ſince the beginning of the Reformation, and are derived from the chief Author of the Reformation. It is not likely therefore that they will eaſily fall, that have ſuch Authority and ſo many years to uphold them. But I ſuppoſe, *Monſieur Moulins* intended only a mutuall tolleration; and be it no more, yet if

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we conſider the indiſpoſition of the perſons with whom we are to deal, I take this likewiſe to be impoſſible. The *Lutherans* are divided into two ſorts, either they are *Molliores*, as they call them, or *Rigidi* What hope there may be of moderation in the firſt I know not, but in the ſecond we may well deſpair of. For they ſo bear themſelves, as that it is evident they would rather agree with the Church of *Rome*, then with the *Calviniſt*. He that is converſant in the writings of *Hunnius* and *Grawerus*, will quickly think as I do. The firſt of which hath ſo bitterly written againſt *Calvin*, that *Parſons* the Jeſuit furniſht himſelf by compiling *Hunnius* his Books. If the whole lump be Leaven'd, as thoſe two pieces, which I but now named, they are certainly too ſower for moderate men to deal with. The French wits are naturally active and projecting: and withall carry evermore a favourable conceit to the poſſibility of their projects. Out of this French conceit I ſuppoſe proceeded this of M. *Moulins*.

Mr. *Deane* went away to the *Hague*, giving notice to no man. I underſtood not till dinner that day, of any intent he had to go. I wiſht him an ill journey for this diſcurteſy; but I hope he had a good one. I fear I well wearied your Honor with theſe my long Letters, I will therefore take my leave, commending your Lordſhip to Gods good protection.

Dort, 1. January, *ſtylo novo*. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

WHat hath lately been done at the *Hague* in the buſineſs concerning our Synod, and what Decree the States have made to reſtrain the exorbitancy of the Remonſtrants, I ſuppoſe is ſufficiently known unto your Lordſhip, as a thing done in your preſence. So much thereof it as ſhall ſerve the preſent purpoſe I will take, and leave the reſt to your, Honors better knowledg. Upon Thurſday the third of *January*, *ſtylo novo*, the Commiſſioners being met, and the Delegates ready to declare the pleaſure of the States, the Remonſtrants being call'd in, two of them were found wanting, *Iſaacus Friderici*, and *Henricus Leo*: for *Iſaacus* it was anſwered, that he had leave on Friday laſt, of the *Prætor* of the Town to go abroad: for *Leo* it was anſwered, that they knew not where he was. Having ſent for *Leo*, and awhile in vain expected him, the Delegates proceeded to declare the will of the Lords, and ſignified that the States allowed the Proceedings of the Synod, and com-

commanded the Remonſtrants to obey for the preſent, and whatſoever Decrees hereafter the Delegates and Synod ſhould enact; and if they refuſed to obey, they ſhould expect both Civill and Eccleſiaſticall cenſure. If this ſerved not, yet the Synod ſhould go forward, and gather their opinions out of their books and writings; That the Remonſtrants ſhould be commanded to remain in the Town, and be ready to appear whenſoever the Synod ſhould ſummon them, and anſwer plainly and directly to ſuch Interrogatoryes as it ſhould pleaſe the Synod to propoſe them. This firſt was read in Dutch, and afterwards for the information of the Forreigners it was put into Latin. The *Præſes* then put to them that Queſtion, which in one of the former Seſſions he had propoſed, *viz.* Whether or no they did acknowledg the Articles ſet down in the *Hague* Conference to contein their opinions, and amongſt the reſt, that firſt concerning Election, which by the Scribe was read unto them out of the Book. *Epiſcopius* beginning to make anſwer, *Martinus Gregorii* commanded that their anſwers ſhould be taken and ſet down in their own words. *Epiſcopius* his anſwer was this. *Omnibus in timore Domini expenſis, & adjunctis etiam ad Deum precibus, non poſſum impetrare ab anima mea, ut aliam agendi rationem ſequar, quam eam quæ ultimo reſponſo meo exhibita eſt.* This their anſwer, of which he ſpeaks, was given on Saturday laſt, as I have inform'd your Honor, and it was this, that except the Synod *in anteceſſum*, as they ſpake, would beforehand promiſe them, that they ſhould have free Liberty to propoſe their own opinion of Reprobation, and refute the Contra-Remonſtrants Doctrine in that point together with the Doctrine if all thoſe whom the Contra-remonſtrants held for Orthodox, and that as far as they pleas'd without receiving any check from the Synod, they were reſolved to go no further. The ſame was the anſwer of the reſt, with ſome alteration of words, for they were queſtioned one by one, every one by himſelf. *Hollingerius* anſwered, that he could not *eam recipere legem, eamque ingredi viam*, which tended openly to the ruin and oppreſſion of the better cauſe. For by ſo doing he ſhould greivouſly wound his Conſcience before God, and caſt *irreparabile ſcandalum* before the true worſhippers of God. *Imitabor itaque exemplum Chriſti: Silebo, et omnem eventum commendabo illi qui venturus eſt ad judicandum vivos & mortuos.* *Neranus* ſpake after the ſame manner, and added, that the Reaſons why they thus thought themſelves bound to anſwer, they had exhibited this Morning to the Secular Delegates. *Poppius* gave anſwer thus, *Reſpondeo, cum debita erga ſummas Poteſtates reverentia, me invocato ſanctiſſimo Dei nomine, & re tota etiam atque etiam expenſa apud animum meum, non poſſe deſinere ab ultimo meo reſponſo. Exhibuimus rationes Dominis Delegatis in quibus etiamnam acquieſco, certo perſuaſus id quod facio Deo*

Optimo

Optimo maximo & Chriſto Jeſu probatum iri. Martinus Gregiiro adviſed him here to bethink himſelf a little whether or no he ſpake not theſe words in Paſſion(for he ſeem'd to be ſomewhat Cholerick.)He replied, that he ſpake them with his beſt advice. The *Præſes* perceiving that they were reſolved not to Anſwer, concluding the queſtions which he had propoſed, thought that the *Synod* might without ſcruple accept of the firſt Article in their Remonſtrance at the *Hague*, for their proper tenent. He proceeded therefore to propoſe unto them another Interrogatory: Whether or no, that Decree which they ſpake of in that firſt Article, did contein the whole Decree of Election, and ſo were the main ground of Chriſtianity; or whether there were not ſome Decree beſides this. The behaviour and anſwers of the Remonſtrants carryed the ſame Copie of Countenance with the former, and *Poppius* plainly anſwered, *Quia conſcientiæ meæ à Synodo non habetur ratio, non expecto ab ea inſtructionem in veritate: ideóque conſultum non eſt reſpondere.* The *Præſes* then citing ſome Texts out of *Johannes Arnoldi*, and *Arminius*, and the *Hague* Conference, concluded that it was their opinion, that beſides that Decree mention'd in the Conference, they acknowledged no farther Decree of Election. In the third place this queſtion was put the Remonſtrants: whether when they taught, that God choſe Man *propter fidem præviſam*, this were not rather to be called an Election of *(Faith)* then of the perſon; ſince the perſon was choſen for the qualities ſake. But they were ſtill the ſame. *Neranus* was the man that gave it, but it was the common anſwer of them all: *Si liceat nobis de Reprobatione, & Contra-Remonſtrantium ſententia ſuper ea agere quantum nobis conſcientia noſtra & Eccleſiarum noſtrarum ædificatio perſuadebit ſufficere, & hoc nobis in anteceſſum promittatur, libentur ad quæſita reſpondebimus: ſi minus, ſilere malumus.* Now becauſe they had often appeal'd to their Reaſons exhibited in *Scripto* to the Secular Delegates that Morning, the Delegates thought good to read the writing in the Audience of the Synod. It contein'd almoſt no new thing, but was a repetition of their old exceptions, that their Liberty was prejudiced, that the *Synod* was *pars adverſa* (and for farther illuſtration of this, they reckoned up all the ſharp ſpeeches that either *Scultetus* or the Divines of *Geneva*, or any other had uſed againſt them) that their Conſciences would not allow of this manner of proceeding, &c.

This laſt Night was there a private meeting, not by way of Seſſion, but only it was a Conference to which ſome of the Graver & Diſcreeter of the Synod were call'd. The end was only to adviſe what courſe is beſt to be holden in the following diſputations. It was thought fit that the Remonſtrants ſhould alwayes be preſent at their meetings, and queſtions ſhould be propoſed them: but the Synod ſhould proceed whe-

ther they anſwer'd or no: and ſo they concluded of a courſe to gather their opinions out of their Books. Mr. *Amyes* will inform your Lordſhip more largely peradventure in ſome farther circumſtances, his ſudden and unexpected departure hath made me ſcribble up this, more rudely and conciſely then I had intended, becauſe I was loth to miſs of ſo good a Meſſenger. Wherefore I ceaſe any further to trouble your Honor, and remit you to Mr. *Amyes* larger Relation.

Dort *this Fourth of* January. 1619. *ſtylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty and Service, Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Wedneſday the ninth of *January*, *ſtylo novo*, the Synod met not at all. Time was given the Deputies to adviſe of the *Theſes* which were to be handled: only at Night the Engliſh went in private to the *Præſes* to conſult what manner of proceeding were fitteſt to be uſed. What counſel they gave him I know not: but this I ſee, that the courſe he taketh is not altogether ſo well approved by them. Upon Thurſday the tenth of *January* the Commiſſioners met in the Morning in private, where Mr. *Præſes* propoſed unto them four things to be conſidered of. Firſt, whether or no the *Theſes* propoſed by him formerly did not perfectly contein the opinion of the Remonſtrants. Secondly, *An electio ſit una an multiplex*, that ſo he might exclude the Remonſtrants Diviſion of Election in *Revocabilem & irrevocabilem*; *completam & incompletam*, &c. Thirdly, *An electio ſit ex fide & obedientia, an potius ad fidem & obedientiam.* For this is one main point of difference: the *Remonſtrant* teaches, *that God foreſaw only who would believe, and ſo ordein'd and Elected only to Glory*: the *Contra-Remonſtrant* teacheth, *that God ordein'd who ſhould believe, and ſo predeſtinated and Elected both to Grace and Glory.* The fourth thing propoſed was concerning the means how true believers become ſure of their Salvation. After this the Synod was requeſted to deliver themſelves concerning a Method of propoſing and examining the *Theſes* propoſed. The greateſt part of them liked well of that form which the *Præſes* propoſed. The *Engliſh*, the *South-Hollanders* and *Feſtus Hommius* conceived ſeverally a form of *Theſes*, every man according to his diſcretion, and exhibited them to the Judgement of the Synod, and had them publikely read: this was the ſum of that meeting. A Copie of the *Theſes* drawn by our *Engliſhmen* I will ſend your Honor, as ſoon as I can procure the ſight of them.

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The ſame day at Evening the Deputies met in private as before. They continued yet their conſultation upon the point of manner of proceeding. The *Præſes* invented certain new Interrogatories and propounded them to the Synod, to know their mindes whether it were not fit to propoſe them to the Remonſtrants. There was great doubt whither this were a thing fit to be done, ſince it is not likely that the Remonſtrants behaviour in this behalf will be any other then hitherto it had been. This queſtion, as it ſeems, was the greateſt part of their conſultation. It was at length Concluded that the Remonſtrants ſhould be call'd in, and the Interrogatories put to them, the next Seſſion. This Morning therefore we look for an open Seſſion, where we ſhall underſtand the laſt nights Interrogatories, and the whole buſineſs of that Seſſion. For I muſt Confeſs, I do not well conceive what was then done, or to what purpoſe. I perceive there is ſome variance about their form of proceeding: Mr. *Præſes* is deſirous that the courſe he hath thought of may take place; the *Engliſh* and others, that ſome more ready and compendious way may be taken. What will be the Iſſue of it, I cannot yet conjecture as ſoon as I can underſtand any thing, I will acquaint your Honor, till when I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* 1ſt *of* January. 1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and Bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

I ſuppoſe Mr. *Amyes* can better inform your Honor of this laſt nights buſineſs. He hath been much with the *Præſes*, and I imagine underſtands moſt of his intent.

Right Honourable my very good Lord,

YOur Lordſhip by your kinde Letters doth engage me ſo far, as I ſhould think it not the leaſt part of my happineſſe, if I could but hit on any way whereby I might expreſs, in any proportion, my thankfulneſs for the ſame; but ſince that cannot be, acknowledgement of *non ſolvendo* muſt paſs for ſatisfaction. In that Letter which I wrote to my Lord of *Buckingham*, (wherein I mentioned your Lordſhips wonderful kindeneſs to me) I entreated his Lordſhip to move his Majeſty, that either by my Lord of *Canterbury* his Letters, or Mr. *Secretaries*, I being joyned with the *Engliſh*, we might make up one *Collegium Theologorum magnæ Britanniæ*: Now this laſt week my Lord ſent me word, that he gave my Letter to the King, who did read it over, and liked the motion well

well, and ſo accordingly gave order for it: he ſent me word likewiſe, that the King had the *Epiſcopii Theſes* which I ſent, and that he was mightily incenſed at them. So my very good Lord, I am well ſatisfied in that point; for we have now divided the buſineſs among us D. *Ward* his part aſſigned to him is, *Impugnatio Decreti de ſalvandis fidelibus, & unico Decreto prædeſtinationis*: My Lord of *Landaff* his part is, *Reſponſio ad Argumenta Remonſtrantium, quibus prius illud decretum conantur ſtabilire*: Dr. *Goad* his part, *Impugnatio Electionis peremptoriæ ex fide prævisa*: and *demonſtratio hujus Propoſitionis, quod fides ſit fructus Electionis*, which doth *coincidere* with the other. D. *Davenant* his part is *Orthodoxæ ſententiæ aſſertio, & vindicatio rationum ii Contra-Remonſtrantium ab objectionibus Remonſtrantium in utroque membro.* My part is, *Solutio omnium argumentorum quæ afferunt Remonſtrantes contra Orthodoxam ſententiam.* The confuſion here in handling of buſineſs is very great; they do not know how to put any thing to Committees to agree of buſineſs, and then afterward to propound it to the Synod to be approved or diſproved; which hath been the cuſtom obſerved in all Councils and Synods: but nothing is known till it be propounded in the Synod, and then there are almoſt as many ſeveral voices as heads; if your Lordſhip would give your advice to ſome of the Eſtates in this kinde, it may be they would apprehend it, and we ſhould bring buſineſs to ſome iſſue. The *Palatine* Divines and we have met now three times, and we have agreed on the ſame Propoſitions, and have reſolved to call one of every Colledge of the Forreign Divines, and communicate the ſame with them; that ſo, if it be poſſible, all we ſtrangers may ſet up, and throw down the ſame Concluſions. For the Provincials, for any thing I can ſee, they are ſo far ſet againſt the Remonſtrants, I wiſh not their perſons as well as their opinions, that I am afraid they will not like well of our moderation. For the *Diſmiſſion* of the Remonſtrants, ſince your Lordſhip is pleaſed to take notice of it, I hope I may without offence ſay that it was ſuch, as certainly did the *Synod* much wrong On Friday when they ſeemed to yield, then the *Exteri Theologi* could not be heard for the continuing of them in the Synod. Nay the trick which was put upon them was a little too palpable; *For the Delegates had their Decree of Diſmiſſion written before they came into the Synod*; yet our voices were asked, hoping it ſhould have been anſwerable to their Decree: but finding it was otherwiſe, without ſo much as laying their heads together for conſultation, *they publiſhed a Decree which they brought written with them into the Synod.* On Munday the late Acts of the Remonſtrants incredible obſtinacy being read; the *Theologi exteri* gave ſuffrages for their diſmiſſion; onely one to wit *Steinius* gave a bitter ſentence; their voices being asked only, who are not above a *third part of the Synod*, they

they were call'd in and diſmiſt with ſuch a powdering ſpeech as I doubt not but your Lordſhip hath heard with grief enough, I proteſt I am much afflicted when I think of it. For if the Remonſtrants ſhould write, that the Preſident pronounced a ſentence, which was not the ſentence of the Synod, they ſtould not lie. The Civil Lawyers and Cannon of *France*, who write much about the formalities omitted in the Council of *Trent*, urge Exceptions of leſſe moment then theſe; ſo neither was there above a *third part of the voices asked, ex quibus ſententia ferri nequit*: neither was the ſentence conceived in writt, and approved by the Synod, and the bitter words in the Sentence were not the words of any of the ſuffrages, unleſs that ſome of them were ſpoken by one man only. Your Lordſhips Cenſure of that Sentence is juſt and honourable. Mr. Dean of *Worceſter* at his going from hence, with the Remembrance of his ſervice to your Lordſhip, deſired me to ſignifie to your Lordſhip, that he could not poſſibly meet with *Deodatus*. The Remonſtrants, (as *Heinſius* but now told me) have ſent a very virulent and bitter writing to Mr. *Bogarmanne*, it may be now we ſhall hear of it at the Synod, whether we are going: ſo with the remembrance of my humbleſt Dutie and ſervice to your Lordſhip and your worthy Lady, I muſt conclude a Petitioner, that your Lordſhip would ever be pleaſed to reckon among your true obſervers

Your very dutiful, and faithful Servant
W. Belcanqual.

Dort, this 13 *of* Febr. 1618.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

IT hath pleaſed the Synod at length finally to diſcharge themſelves of the Remonſtrants, and to proceed according as they had projected by gathering their opinions out of their Books. The manner of their diſmiſſion was this. Upon Munday the $\frac{1}{4}$ of *January* the Commiſſioners being ſet, the *Præſes Polyticus* made a ſhort ſpeech to this purpoſe. That they had hicherto labou'rd as much as in them lay to have the Decree of the Eſtates to be kept, and to bring the Remonſtrants to ſome reaſonable reſolution. And for this purpoſe had upon Saturday laſt in the Afternoon, covented them and adviſed them to give up their opinions, quietly, orderly, freely, and to refute the contrary as much as they thought fit, reſerving alwayes to the Synod Authority to judge of what was convenient, what was ſufficient, without which it could be no Synod. That they had undertaken in their behalf, that the Synod ſhould ſo manage the buſineſs, that they ſhould have no juſt cauſe to complain.

But

But all this labor was loſt, neither would they be bronght to relinquiſh their former plea; for in a writing exhibited unto them they ſignified ſo much in effect, in which writing they refer'd themſelves to ſuch conditions as had been by them partly *ſcripto*, partly *viva voce* formerly required. Wherefore they thought fit that it ſhould be propoſed to the Synod to judge whether or no there had not been ſufficient order taken to give contentment to the Remonſtrants, if at leaſt any thing could content them. Yet they thought it convenient once more to call the Remonſtrants before them, to ſee whether they would leave their holdfaſt and ſubmit to the *Synod*. If no, then they ſhould without any farther delay proceed to judge of their opinions by collecting them out of their Writings, This was the ſum of that ſpeech. The wrighting mentioned by the *Præſes Politicus* in his ſpeech was then read firſt in *Dutch*, then in *Latine*, in which the Remonſtrants declared that they would ſubmit themſelves unto the Synod upon ſuch conditions as had formerly been required, otherwiſe no. After this was the Synod requeſted to deliver their opinions, whether order ſufficient to content the Remonſtrants had not been taken. It was judged generally that more could not be granted them then had already been, which was they thought abundantly ſufficient. *Scultetus* did in brief give as it were a hiſtory or rather an inventory of the Remonſtrants behaviour ſince their firſt appearance before the Synod, and ſhewed how contumeliouſly they had handled it, how they had contemned the Decrees of the Seculars and of the Synod, that they had abuſed them with lyes, deceitfull ſpeeches, &c. And concluded that it was unfit the *Synod* ſhould farther condeſcend unto them. When the Forreigners had ſpoken, it was thought ſufficient, neither did the *Præſes* proceed to ask the judgment of the Provincialls, knowing belike before what it was The Remonſtrants then being called in the *Præſes* ſignified to them that upon Friday Morning they had given good hope of peacable dealing, and at leaſt in ſhew ſeemed to forgoe ſuch conditions as they had formerly claimed, he was now in the name of the Synod to requre them to anſwer Categorically, yea or no, *an velint ſimpliciter & ſine conditione parere Decreto Ordinum & Synodi & ita ſimplicitur venire in rem præſentem.* The Remonſtrants for anſwer require that they may be permitted to read a ſhort writing which they had conceived. It was anſwered that it needed not, there was no more required, but their yea or no, but they perſiſted in their propoſall, the Writing was taken and delivered to the Seculars to be peruſed, and they commanded to withdraw. There writing was read, wherein having ſignified; how welcome the moderation held by the Forreigners lately was unto them; whereas they were injoyned to obey the Synodicall Decree, or look

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for puniſhment, their anſwer was that it could not ſtand with their Conſcience to promiſe Obedience to all *Synodicall* Decrees, ſince many of them ſtood not with Common Æquity, and as for Mulct and Puniſhment, they left it to the Diſcretion of thoſe to whoſe Government they were ſubject; they would provide their patience. That they intend not to conteſt with the Synod concerning order: that they promiſed to ſubmit: but with ſuch conditions as they had heretofore mention'd. Thus as the *Præſes* ſaid what they gave with the one hand, with the other they took away again. The Remonſtrants being again called in, they were asked every man whether they acknowledged this anſwer, they all replyed, they did, and ſo were commanded to ſubſcribe their Names to it, which forthwith was done. The *Præſes* then Beſpake them on this manner. The moderation of the Foreigners which you ſo much extolled, proceeded out of their Errour which to day having underſtood, they have pronounced concerning you another ſentence.

"Upon Friday laſt when you ſeemed to diſclaim all illimitted Liberty, and gave hope of ſome Conformity, they dealt with the Synod in favour of you: but to day underſtanding you to abuſe the Synod, and fly back again to your former claim, they all with one conſent think you *indignos eſſe quibuſcum diutius res agatur.* One amongſt them there is who hath taken the paines to Mappe out your behaviour ſince your firſt footing in the Synod. Pretend you what you will, the true cauſe of this your indiſpoſition is this, that you take the *Synod* for the Adverſe part, and account your ſelves in Equall place with them, this conceit hath manifeſted it ſelf in all your actions. *Theſes* upon the queſtion in controverſy you gave up, but ſo confuſed, ſo nothing to the purpoſe that no uſe can be made of them. The Decrees of the Synod you have openly contemned. The Interrogatories put you, you have refuſed to anſwer. Your Citatory Letters notwithſtanding the ſence of them was expounded by thoſe who gave them, and therefore beſt knew it, you have interpreted as you liſt, and profeſt that you will proceed according to your own judgement, and not according to the judgement of the Synod. At length on Friday laſt you ſeemed to lay by your claim of illimited Liberty and give ſome hope of ſome conformity; but all this in your writing now Exhibited you have retracted. The *Synod* hath dealt mildly gently and favourably with you, but *ſinceritati, lenitati, manſuetudini Synody, fraudes, artes, & mendacia oppoſuiſtis.* I will diſmiſs you with no other Elogie then one of the Forreigners gave you, *quo cepiſtis pede eodem cedite,* with a lye you made your entrance into the Synod, with a lye you take your leave of it, in denying lately that ever you profeſſed your ſelves provided to give anſwer on the

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"Articles, or to have had any ſuch writing ready, which all the "Synod knows to be falſe. Your actions all have been full of fraud æ- "quivocations and deceit. That therefore the Synod may at length "piouſly and peacably proceed to the perfecting of that buſineſs for "which it is come together, you are diſmiſt. But aſſure you the Sy- "nod ſhall make known your pertinacy, to all the Chriſtian World, "and know that the *Belgick Churches* want not *arma Spiritualia*, with "which in time convenient they will proceed againſt you. *Quamobrem vos Delegatorum & Synodi nomine dimitto, Exite.* So with much nutter- ing the Remonſtrants went out; and *Epiſcopius* going away ſaid, *Dominus Deus judicabit de fraudibus & mendaciis*: Sapma *Exeo ex eccleſia malignantium*: and ſo the Synod brake up.

The ſame day at night there was a privat Seſſion; what was done in it I underſtand not yet. I conjecture it was concerning the order of proceeding. As ſoon as I ſhall underſtand what was done I will ac- quaint Your Lordſhip with it, and till then I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* 1⅘. *of* January. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord.

SInce the Diſmiſſion of the Remonſtrants there hath not been any publick Seſſion, and as I Conjecture for a while will not be. They are altogether in Conſultation concerning their order of proceeding, and in gathering materialls out of the Remonſtrants Books, whence they may Frame their *Theſes* and propoſitions which muſt be the ſub- ject of their diſputation. This they purpoſe, as I conceive, to do through out all the Five Articles, before they come to the open diſcuſ- ſing of any one, for they are paſt from the firſt, and gone one to the ſe- cond. So that till this Conſultation be ended there will not be a- ny great occaſion of news.

Againſt Mr. *Præſes* ſo rough handling the Remonſtrants at their Di ſ- miſſion there are ſome exceptions taken by the Deputies themſelves. The Forreigners think themſelves a little indirectly dealt withall, in that it being propoſed to the whole Synod to paſs their judgement concerning the behaviour of the Remonſtrants, the *Provincials were not not at all required to ſpeak*, and by theſe meanes the envy of the whole buſineſs was de ived upon the Forreigners. Whereas on the contrary when the like queſtion was propoſed formerly, and the Forreigners had

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ſpoken very favourable in ihe Remonſtrants behalf, the Provincials ſtroke in, and eſtabliſht a rigid ſentence, againſt the Forreigners liking, *Sothat there is little regard given to the judgement of the Forreigners, except they ſpeak as the Provincials would have them.* Again upon the Tueſday Seſſion in the morning, there being a repetition made, according to the cuſtom, of the late Synodical acts, when they came to the act of the Remonſtrants Diſmiſſion, *Lud. Croſius* of *Breme* ſignified that he perceived that Mr *Præſes* in that buſineſs had been *paulo commotior*, and had let ſlip, *verba quædam acerba*, which might well have been ſpared; that in ſo great an act, as that was, a little more advice and conſideration might have been uſed. The *Synod* ought to have been conſulted with, and a form of Diſmiſſion conceived and approved of by all, which ſhould in the name of the Synod have bin pronounced, and regiſtred; whereas now the Synod ſtands indicted of all that unneceſſary roughneſs which then was practiſed. It had ſtood better whith the Honor of the *Synod* to have held a more peaceable and paſſionleſs order. The *Preſes* replied, that for Diſmiſſing the Remonſtrants without a Synodical form, it was from the *Secular* Lords, who willed him immediately to proceed, What his apologie was for his paſſionate ſpeeches I know not. The *Seſſion* was in private, and I have nothing but by relation. I hear nothing yet from Mr. *Preſes* concerning the *French* project: as ſoon as I ſhall hear ought, I will not fail to acquaint your Honor till when I humbly take my leave.

Dort, $\frac{8}{18}$ January, 1618. *Your Honours Chaplain, and Bounden in all Duty* Jo. Hales.

The bringer of this Letter is Sir *John Berks Son.*

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

YOur Honour ſhall here receive the Decree of the Synod mentioned in my laſt Letters, conteining the form of proceeding which they will hold in diſcuſſing the Articles. The morning they mean the Deputies ſhall ſpend in private, after dinner in open Synod the chief places of Scripture upon which the Remonſtrant grounds himſelf ſhall be opened, and anſwers fram'd to the Arguments drawn from thence. According to which reſolution they began to proceed upon Thurſday the $\frac{17}{7}$ of *Janu.* in the Evening. The queſtion propoſed then was, *An præter Decretum de ſalvandis fidelibus, nullum ſit aliud Decretum Electionis.* The Remonſtrant affirms there is none, and for this produces certain places of Scripture. The Contra-Remonſtrant grants that there is ſuch a Decree, but withall contends that this is but a Secondary Decree. For *God*

(ſaith he) *firſt reſolved upon the Salvation of ſome certain ſingular perſons, and in the ſecond place decreed to give them Faith as a means to bring the former Decree to paſs.* But before this queſtion came on the ſtage, other things were done at that time. The Synod therefore being met, at the time mentioned, Firſt the Letters from the States concerning *D. Goads* Admiſſion were read, and after that, ſome were ſent to his Lodging to conduct him to the Synod. In the mean time were there Letters from Mr. Dean to the Synod produced and read, together with a form of Valediction and farewell, by him conceived. I ſuppoſe Mr. Dean acquainted your Honor with the thing whilſt hee was with you, which is the cauſe I have not ſent a tranſcript of it: as ſoon as I underſtand your Lordſhip hath not ſeen it, I will cauſe a Copy of it to be taken. It was then concluded by the Synod that the *Præſes*, and Aſſeſſors, together with the Seculars Scribe, ſhould, after the Synod was ended, repair to Mr. Dean, and take their leave of him in the name of all the reſt, and by him commend their love and ſervice unto his Majeſtie, and render him humble thanks for his princely care. All which the ſame night was done. Now was Dr. *Goade* come to the Synod, and according to the manner, conducted to his ſeat, where being ſate, he made a ſhort ſpeech, which being ended, the Synod proceeded to diſcuſſe the queſtion above metion'd. The Decree is, that the Profeſſors ſhall expound thoſe places of Scripture, on which the Remonſtrant builds. Wherefore *Jo. Polyander* who is the Senior Profeſſor, being abſent, *Sibrandus Lubbertus* who is the next in order, tooke the queſtion, and anſwer'd ſuch Texts as were urged by the Adverſary, one out of the 3. of John, 36. *Qui credit in filium habet vitam æternam: qui non credit non videbit vitam, ſed ira Dei manet ſuper eo.* Another out of the 1. to the Epheſ. 4. *Elegit nos in Chriſto ante jacta mundi fundamenta*: A third out of 11. to the Hebrews *Impoſſibile eſt ſine fide placere Deo.* The ſumme of *Sibrandus* his anſwer at that time I can not give. For being miſinform'd that it would be but a private Seſſion, I was not at it. Beſides *Sibrandus* no man ſpake any thing that night. As ſoon as he had done, it was ſignified by the *Præſes* that the *Campenſes*, who were lately cited, were now ready to make their appearance. It was concluded, that becauſe the buſineſs of the Synod ſhould not be interrupted, certain out of the company ſhould be appointed to hear the cauſe and make relation of it to the Synod: ſo the *Præſes* concluded the Seſſion with a prayer, in which he prayed for Mr. *Deans* Health, and for the good ſucceſs of his journey. This was the ſumme of what was then done, and ſo I end, committing your Honor to Gods good protection.

Dort, *this* [illegible] *of* January.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Service, Jo. Hales.

The

The Synodical Decree of the *ſixt* of *January*, concerning the manner of handling the Five Articles.

Collatis diligenter per D. Præſidem, Aſſeſſores & Scribas ex præſcripto illuſtrium D D. Delegatorum ſuffragiis omnibus, tum Scripto tum viva voce heri ac nudiuſtertius in veneranda hac Synodo dictis ſuper modo agendi circa examen & judicium quinque Articulorum: compertum eſt plurimis placere, ut ſingula quamprimum Collegia ad examen illud inſtituendum judiciumque formandum ſerio ſe accingant. Ac primo quidem loco in manus ſumant primum Articulum. In cujus examine, ut & deinceps in cæterorum, ad interrogatoria & Theſes a D. Præſide dicta a, ut & poſtea dictanda, quilibet in primis attendat. Si quis tamen plura, quæ ad ſententiam Remonſtrantium proponendam & explicandam facere poſſunt, quæ forte in Theſibus & interrogatoriis iſtis indicata non ſunt, addere velit & poſſit, id cuique liberum relinquatur: & ut privatim ſingula collegia ante Meridiem de hoc examine cogitabunt; ita poſt Meridiem ne Synodus intermiſſa, ac nulla Auditorum Spectatorumque ex omnibus paſſim oris quotidie accurrentium ratio haberi videatur, publicus, niſi omnino res ipſa aliud poſtulaverit, conventus celebrabitur: in quo potiſſima Remonſtrantium argumenta maxime ex Scripturis deſumpta, ipſorumque adeo ad contrariæ ſententiæ argumenta maxime ex Scripturis deſumpta reſponſiones proponentur & excutientur, præeuntibus D D. Doctoribus ac Profeſſoribus nunc noſtratibus, nunc exteris ad Arbitrium D. Præſidis: relicta interim ſingulis libertate dictis addendi, & ſuam etiam de præpoſitis argumentis ſententiam dicendi. Quare neceſſe quoque erit ut quilibet ſerio de argumentis iſtis & reſponſionibus apud ſe cogitet ac meditetur. Dabit autem operam D. Præſes ſingulis Seſſionibus, ut ea de quibus proxima Seſſione erit agendum univerſæ Synodo ſignificet. Ac ſi quis fuerit, qui de quoquam, quod forte a D. Præſide monitum non fuerat, judicium Synodi audire ſua vel aliorum cauſa deſideret, ejus, ſi privatim D. Præſidem appellaverit, ratio habebitur, prout ipſe adhibito conſilio Aſſeſſorum & Scribarum, ac ſi opus fuerit plurium, ex uſu Synodi, aut rei qua de agitur, eſſe exiſtimaverit. Judicium formatum de quolibet Articulo, additis rationibus quibus ſubnixum eſt, Præſidi privatim exhibebitur aſſervandum, donec de omnibus judicium Articulis judicium formatum & ſimiliter exhibitum fuerit.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

UPon wednesday the $\frac{5}{6}$ of *January* there was no Session at all in the morning, in the evening there was one, but in private. In this they have concluded the question about their manner of proceeding. There was a forme conceived and concluded upon, and transcribed by all the Deputies. They concluded likewise their *Theses* upon the first Article, which they purpose publickly to discusse. It was late in the evening ere this Session was done, so that I could not get the Copies of either of these, but in my morrow Letters I will not fail by Gods grace to send your Honor the transcripts of them. Besides, there were some things of smaller weight advised of. First, whether in delivering of their judgements upon the Articles in Controversie, the Forreigners should begin, as hitherto they had done. The Provincials at first strain'd courtesie, and thought it no point of good manners, to take Precedency of the Forreigners: but it is concluded, they must, as being better tried in these Controversies then the Forreigners are, and therefore meete it was they should give them more time to advise. The second thing proposed was concerning their Auditory. For they question'd whether they should admit of hearers, or do all in private. Old *Sibrandus* was very hot against the Auditory, and thought it not fit that any care should be had of them, as being only *Mulierculæ, & pauculi juvenes incauti.* There is some reason of this complaint of his, for many youthes, yea and Artificers, and I know not what rabble besides thrust in, and trouble the place. As for women whole troopes of them have been seen there, and the best places for spectators reserved for them. Which thing must needes expose the Synod to the scorne of those, who ly in wait to take exception against it. But the Synod hath determined in favour of their Auditory, that Sessions consultatory and Provisionall shall be private, but Sessions wherein they discusse and conclude shall be publick. Meetings heerafter will not be so frequent, for men will take more time to advise. This is the summ, as farr as I can learn, of what was done at that time. To morrow your Lordship shall receive farther information, till which time I humbly take my leave.

Dort, *this* 17 *of* January.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty,
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honurable, and my very good Lord,

UPon Friday the $\frac{4}{18}$ of January in the Evening, the Synod being met, Doctor *Gomarus* anſwerd ſome parts of Scipture, laid hold of by the Remonſtrants, after the ſame manner as *D. Sibrandus* had done the night before, the places by him diſcuſt were for the more part the ſame which in the former Seſſion had been handled. The order of diſcuſſing theſe arguments is by continued diſcourſe after the manner of Latin Sermons, or rather of Divinity Lectures, ſuch as are read in our Schools. In one thing the Diſcretion of both theſe Doctors was much approved. For both of them holding that extream and rigid tenent, which *Beza* and *Perkins* firſt of all acquainted the World with, yet notwithſtanding they held an unpartiall and even courſe, and never ſtroke upon it. When *Gomarus* had ſpoken towards an hour and halfe, my Lord Biſhop deliver'd himſelf concerning the meaning of the ſame places of Scripture, and after him certain other of the forraign Divines. After this ſame Copy will all the news be yet this ten days or more, & theſe evening Seſſions are only to entertain the Auditory, not to determine any thing at all. Each company muſt in private conceive and ſet down in writing their opinion concerning the Articles; and when they have ſo done the Writings muſt be exhibited to the Synod, and out of them muſt be gathered the Concluſion which muſt ſtand for good. This is a thing which will require ſome good time, and in the mean while beſides theſe Theologicall *Lectures*, there ſhall be nothing done publickly in the *Synod*. The ſame day at night *Bitterfieldius*, one of the Deputies lately come out of *Naſſau* died. When his Funerall will be I know not. Upon Friday Morning Mr. *Dean* took his journey toward *Middlebourgh*. Upon Saturday their was no Seſſion at all Mr. *Balcanqual* commends his *S*ervice unto your Honor, and required me to ſignify to you thus much, that he had lately ſpoken with *Muſius*, but underſtood nothing by him concerning the matter which your Lordſhip is privy too. He willed me moreover to inform your Honor, That whereas you lately ſpake to Mr. *Dean* to deal with *Deodati*, Mr. *Dean* by reaſon of his indiſpoſition of Body, and ſudden departure, found no means to talk with him. Thus with humble recommendation of my Service to your Honor, I take my leave.

Dort, *this* $\frac{11}{21}$ *of* January.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

"THe Errours of publike actions (if they be not very groſs) are "with leſs inconvenience tollerated then amended. For the "danger of alteration, of diſgracing and diſabling Authority, makes "that the Fortune of ſuch proceedings admits no regreſs, but being once "howſoever well or ill done, they muſt for ever after be upheld. The "moſt partialls ſpectator of our Synodal acts can not but confeſs, that in "the late diſmiſſion of the Remonſtrants, with ſo much choler and heat, "there was a great overſight committed, and that whether we reſpect "our common profeſſion of Chriſtianity, *Quæ nil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene*; "or the quality of this people apt to mutine by Reaſon of long Liber-"ty, and not having learnt to be imperiouſly commanded, in which "argument the Clergy above all men ought not to have read their firſt "Leſſon. The Synod therefore to whom it is not now *in integro* to "look back, and Rectify what is amiſs without diſparagement, muſt now "go forward and leave events to God, and for the Countenance of their "action do the beſt they may. For this purpoſe have they lately by Deputies appointed for that end, made a Declaration of all their proceedings unto the States Generall, from whom they have procured a Decree for Confirmation of them, which Decree upon Munday the $\frac{11}{21}$ of *Jannary* was publickly, firſt in Dutch then in Latin, read at the Synod in the Evening. The particulars of it I ſhall not need relate as being ſufficiently known to your Honor. The Decree being pronounced, *Heinſius* firſt ſignified that it had been before in private made known to the Remonſtrants, and then in the name of the Delegates warn'd the Commiſſioners of the Synod, *Ut quam maturimè & celerrime de iſtis controverſiis ſtatuant, ut poſſint tandem afflictis eccleſiis Belgicis ſubvenire.* I was very glad to hear that admonition, and it gives me hope that our Synod ſhall have end not long after Eaſter at the Fartheſt. After this did *Tyſius*, another of the Profeſſors diſcuſſe three other of the Remonſtrants arguments taken out of the *Hague* Conference, according to the ſame forme as *Sibrandus* and *Gomarus* had done before. This being done the *Præſes* required *Jo. Polyander* and *Walæus* to provide to do the like upon Thurſday next in the Evening (for before that time there is to be no publick Seſſion) and requeſting the Company the next Day to accompany *Biſterfieldius* to his Grave (which accordingly was done at the time appointed) he diſmiſt the meeting. So that till Thurſday next we are likely to underſtand no more news of the Synod.

I ſpake upon Tueſday with Mr. *Præſes* concerning *Moulins* project.

His

His anſwer to me was this, that he communicated the thing with ſome of the diſcreeter of the *Synod*, and that he had required my Lord Biſhop and *Sculletus* to conceive a forme of publick Confeſſion. Which as ſoon as it ſhould be concieved and allowed of by thoſe, who ſhould in that behalf be conſulted withall, he would ſend a Copy of it to your Honor, to be ſent to his Majeſty, by him to be reviſed and altered according to his pleaſure, and ſo from him to be commended unto the Synod publickly. Which courſe he thinks will take good ſucceſs. As touching the point concerning the *Lutherans* he thinks it not fit that any word at all be made. I dealt with Mr. *Præſes* concerning a Copy of M. *Deans* Valediction to the *Synod*; he anſwered me that he had delivered it to *Dammannus* the Scribe to be copied out, and as ſoon as it was done, I ſhould have it to tranſcribe, ſo ſoon therefore as I can procure the Copie of it, I will not fail to ſend it your Lordſhip. Mr. *Dean* at his departure had an *Honorarium* beſtowed on him by the States. *Heinſius* the *Scribe* came to his lodging to him, and making a ſhort ſpeech unto him, preſented him in the Name of the *States* with *munuſculum* as he call'd it. What or how much it was no man knowes. Thus commending your Honor to Gods good protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort, *this* $\frac{18}{28}$ *of* January 1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and Bounden in all Duty,
Jo. Hales.

Right Honurable, and my very good Lord,

UPon Tueſday the $\frac{18}{28}$ of this preſent in the Evening, for, for the debating of certain particular points in controverſy belonging to the firſt Article, the Synod came together in private. It hath been lately queſtioned, how Chriſt is ſaid to be *Fundamentum Electionis*. The Doctrine generally received by the Contra-Remonſtrant in this point is, That God firſt of all reſolved upon the Salvation of ſome ſingular perſons, and in the ſecond place upon Chriſt as a mean to bring this Decree to paſs. So that with them God the Father alone is the Author of our Election, and Chriſt only the Executioner. Others on the contrary teach, that Chriſt is ſo to be held *Fundamentum Electionis*, as that he is not only the Executioner of Election, but the Author and the Procurer of it: for proof of which they bring the words of the Apoſtle to the *Epheſians*, the firſt Chapter, *elegit nos in Chriſto ante jacta mundi fundamenta*. The Expoſition of this Text was the eſpecial thing diſcuſt at this meeting: and ſome taught, that Chriſt was *Fundamentum Electionis*

ctionis, becauſe he was *primus Electorum*, or becauſe he is *Fundamentum Electorum*, but not *Electionis*, or becauſe he is *Fundamentum beneficiorum*, which deſcend upon us; others brookt none of thoſe Reſtraints. D. *Gomarus* ſtands for the former ſentence, and in defence of it had ſaid many things on Friday. This night *Martinius* of *Breme* being required to ſpeak his minde, ſignified to the Synod, that he made ſome ſcruple concerning the Doctrine paſſant about the manner of Chriſts being *Fundamentum Electionis*, and that he thought Chriſt not only the Effector of our Election, but alſo the Author and Procurer thereof. *Gomarus* who owes the Synod a ſhrewd turn, and then I fear me began to come out of debt; preſently, aſſoon as *Martinius* had ſpoken, ſtarts up, and tells the Synod, *ego hanc rem in me recipio*, and therewithall caſts his Glove, and challenges *Martinius* with this Proverb, *Ecce Rhodum, ecce ſaltum*, and requires the Synod to grant them a Duel, adding that he knew *Martinius* could ſay nothing in refutation of that Doctrine. *Martinius* who goes in æquipace with *Gomarus* in Learning, and a little before him for his Diſcretion, eaſily digeſted this affront, and after ſome few words of courſe, by the wiſdom of the *Præſes* matters ſeemed to be a little pacified, and ſo according to the cuſtom, the Synod with Prayer concluded. Zeal and Devotion had not ſo well allayed *Gomarus* his choler, but immediately after Prayers he renewed his Challenge and required Combat with *Martinius* again; but they parted for that night without blowes. *Martinius*, as it ſeems, is ſomewhat favourable to ſome Tenents of the Remonſtrants concerning Reprobation, the latitude of Chriſts merit, the Salvation of Infants, &c. and to bring him to ſome conformity was there a private meeting of the Forreign Divines upon Wedneſday morning in my Lord Biſhops Lodging, in which thus much was obtain'd, that though he would not leave his Concluſions, yet he promiſed moderation and temper in ſuch a manner, that there ſhould be no diſſention in the Synod by reaſon of any opinion of his.

Upon Thurſday the $\frac{14}{24}$ of this preſent, the Synod being met in the Evening, *Jo. Polyander* and *Walæus* undertook the defence of ſome places of Scripture brought by the Contra-Remonſtrants againſt the exceptions of the Remonſtrants: the places of Scripture were, *Luke* 10. 20. *Gaudete quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in Cœlis. Apocal.* 21. 27. *inſcripti in libro vitæ. Rom.* 9. 11. *Ut propoſitum Dei ſecundum Electionem maneret*, and 11. 5. *Reſervatio ſecundum Electionem*: and *Rom.* 8. 13. *Quos prædeſtinavit ut conformes fiant imagini Filii ſui, eos etiam vocavit. Act.* 13. 48. *Crediderunt quotquot erant ordinati ad vitam æternam.* Upon theſe places theſe two ſpake almoſt three hours.

It was expected that as the reſt of the Profeſſors hitherto have done, ſo Doctour *Davenant* the next Profeſſour ſhould ſpeak in publike: It is ſaid

ſaid that he ſhall do it this day in a private Seſſion (for there is no publike till Munday, and what will then be done I know not.) What the meaning is of this Audience only in private, I know not. But of this I will ſay more in my next Letters to your Honour, till when I leave your Lordſhip to Gods good protection.

Dort this $\frac{11}{21}$ *of January* 1618. *Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty* Jo. Hales.

Your Honour ſhall hear receive a Copie of Mr. Deans farewell, I fear me it is a little imperfect, for I underſtand it not in ſome places. If I can hear of another copie from Mr. *Præſes* who promiſed me one at the beginning of this week, and finde it to be perfecter, I will again tranſcribe it.

The Dean of *Worceſters* Valediction to the Synod.

Non facile mecum in gratiam redierit cadaverosa hæc moles, quam ægre usque circumgesto, quæ mihi ſacri hujus Conventus celebritatem toties invideriſ, jamque me prorſus invitiſſimum, a vobis importune avocat & divellit. Neque enim ullus eſt profecto ſub Cœlo locus æque Cœli æmulus, & in quo tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujuſque adeo geſtiet mihi animus meminiſſe. Beatos vero vos quibus hoc frui datum! Non dignus eram ego ut fideliſſimi Romani Querimoniam imitari liceat, qui pro Chriſti & Eccleſiæ ſuæ nomine ſanctam hanc provinciam diutius ſuſtinerem. Illud vero θεῦ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς: nempe audito quod res erat, non alia me quam adverſiſſima hic uſum valetudine, ſereniſſimus Rex meus, miſertus miſelli famuli ſui revocat me domum, quippe quod cineres meos aut ſandapilam vobis nihil quicquam prodeſſe poſſe norit, ſuccenturiavitque mihi virum e ſuis ſelectiſſimum, quantum Theologum! De me profecto, (mera jam filicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus ſum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter proſpectum eſt, ut ſit cur infirmitati meæ haud parum gratulamini, quæ hujuſmodi inſtructiſſimo ſuccedaneo cœtum hunc veſtrum beaverit. Neque tamen committam, (ſi Deus vitam mihi ac vires indulſerit) ut et corpore ſimul et animo abeſſe videar. Interea ſane huic Synodo ubicunque terrarum ſim, votis, conſiliis, conatibuſque meis quibuſcunque res veſtras me pro virili ſerio ac ſedulo promoturum ſancte voveo. Interim vobis omnibus ac ſingulis, Honoratiſſimi Domini Delegati, Reverendiſſime Domine Præſes, Graviſſimi

Assessores, Symmystæ Colendissimi, tibique Venerandissima Synodus Universa, ægro animo ac corpore æternum valedico: rogoque vos omnes obnixius ut precibus vestris imbecillem reducem facere, comitari, et prosequi velitis.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Tuesday the $\frac{12}{22}$ of *January*, at the Evening Session, the point of Reprobation was Scholastically and learnedly discust by *Altingius*, one of the *Palatine* Professors. His discourse was the most sufficient of any that yet I heard. He began from the Definition, and proceeded to how far God had a hand in it, and how far man is the Author of his own Destruction; & lastly answered the Remonstrants arguments. He spake about an hour and half. I would willingly have given your Honour an account of his speech, but it was in the Evening, and the Auditory are allowed no candles, so that I could not use my tables. And thus have they discust the first Article; though I could have wished that the question of Reprobation had been yet farther opened and stood upon, it being a point of large extent, and especially insisted on by the Remonstrant. As for Synodical Resolution in this first Article, that we must yet expect, till all the rest be examined as this hath been. There is no open Session till Friday next after dinner; and then is it their purpose to enter upon the Second Article, of *Universal Grace*: at which time Mr. *Balcanqual*, and *Cruciger* of *Hassia* are appointed to speak, according as the rest have done before, to this question, *Whether the death of Christ were intended indifferently for all, or only for the Elect?* Upon Wednesday the $\frac{20}{30}$ of *January*, in the evening was there a private Session, wherein, belike for the makeing of better speed, they consulted whether they should go on to examine the rest of the Articles after the same manner they had done the first, or else bethink them of some more speedy order. After a long disceptation, even so long that *Jo. Polyander* put the *Præses* in minde of the exceeding sharpness of the Weather, they at length concluded, that they would go on in the same course they had begun. And this as yet is all the Newes that is passant, wherefore ceasing farther to trouble your Honour, I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* $\frac{31}{21}$ *of* January. 1619.

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

UPon Friday the $\frac{11}{21}$ of January, there was a meeting of the Synod partly publick, partly private. As the Provinciall Profeſſors had done, ſo was D. *Davenant*, who is the firſt Profeſſor of the Forraigners, enjoined by the *Præſes* to do. The intent of his diſcourſe at that time, was to overthrow certain diſtinctions framed by the Remonſtrants for the maintenance of their poſitions, and evaſion from the Contraremonſtrants Arguments. The Remonſtrants uſually diſtinguiſh upon *Election*, and divide it, into *definitam & indefinitam*, *revocabilem & irrevocabilem*; *peremptoriam & non peremptoriam*; *mutabilem & immutabilem*, and the like. For the refutation of which diſtinctions he firſt ſet down the definition of *election* brought by the Contraremonſtrant, and at large confirmed it: ſecondly he brought the definition of *election* agreed on by the Remonſtrant, and Argued againſt it: and thirdly he directly oppugned theſe forecited diſtinctions; all which he did learnedly and fully. When Dr. *Davenant* had ſpoken: the Auditory was commanded to *depart*. For having a purpoſe that others ſhould ſpeake at the ſame time, and fearing that ſome *diverſity* of opinion might riſe, and occaſion ſome diſſention, it was thought fit that things ſhould be tranſacted as privately as might be. Many more of the Forreigners deliver'd themſelves that night, and amongſt the reſt *Martinius* of *Breme* propoſed again his former doubts unto the Synod, concerning the *ſenſe in which Chriſt is*, ſaid to be *fundamentum electionis*, & requeſted to be reſolved. But D. *Gomarus* at this time, was ſomewhat better adviſed, & thought it beſt to hold his peace. This day will there be a private meeting wherein every company will give up their judgments in writing upon the firſt Article: and to morrow I underſtand they will go on unto the ſecond, and proceed in it, accordingly as they have done in the former. As for any *Deciſive Sentence* they will give none, till they have thus gone through all the five. In this I ſuppoſe they do very diſcreetly. For ſince the Articles are mutually linked together, it is moſt convenient they ſhould firſt go through them all, ſince a predetermination in the former, might bind them to ſome inconvenience in the later, there being no place left to look back, but ſtand they muſt to what they have once concluded. For avoiding of this it is thought beſt to determine of all at once. And this is all the news that here is currant: wherefore Commending Your Honour to Gods good protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* $\frac{21}{31}$ *of* January. 1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and Bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Munday the $\frac{18}{28}$ of January in the Evening, the Synod being met, *Scultetus* ſpake at large *de Certitudine gratiæ & ſalutis*, that it was neceſſary for every man to be aſſured of his Salvation. The manner of his diſcourſe was oratoriall, the ſame that he uſes in his Sermons, not ſcholaſticall and according to the faſhion of diſputation and Schools. For this cauſe the queſtion was neither deeply ſearcht into, nor ſtrongly proved. And this is all was done that night.

I ſpake with Mr. Dr. *Goad* concerning Mr. *Brent*, who anſwer'd me that he heard nothing at all of him, and that he will ſhortly write unto My Lord Archbiſhops Secretary to be informed farther concerning him. My Lord Biſhop of late hath taken ſome pains with *Martinius* of *Breme*, to bring him from his opinion of *Vniverſall Grace*. By chance I came to ſee his Letter writen to *Martinius* in which he expounded that place in the third of John, *So God loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son &c.* which is the ſtrongeſt ground upon which *Martinius* reſts himſelf. Beyond this here is no news worth the relating, and therfore till farther occaſion offer it ſelf, I humbly take my leave.

Dort *this* $\frac{12}{22}$ *of* January. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden in all Duty
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPon Thurſday the $\frac{21}{31}$ of January in the Evening the Synod met privately, and as they had done in the firſt, ſo did they in the ſecond Article. For the ſpeedier Direction to finde the places in the Remonſtrants Books, where the particulars concerning Vniverſall Grace are diſcuſt, there was a kinde of *Index* or Concordance drawn of the ſeverall paſſages in their writings touching that ſubject. The next Day following, that is the firſt of February *Stylo novo*, Mr. *Balcanquall*, and *Cruciger* of *Haſſia* made entrance upon the ſecond Article. Mr. *Balcanquall* ſpake above an hour, and did very well acquit himſelf. When they had done the *Præſes* enjoin'd *Steinius* of *Haſſia* upon Tueſday next in the Evening (at what time will be the next open Seſſion) to ſpeak of the fourth Article (for of the third there is no queſtion) and to ſound *whether the Grace of God converting is be reſiſtible*, as the Re-

Remonstrants would have it. This haste that is made in this suddain passing from one Article to another is much mervail'd at by our English Divines: for the Colledges yet have not all given up their opinion upon the first, and besides that the Remonstrants upon Wednesday last were willed to give in their Arguments upon the first Article. For notwithstanding they be excluded from personall appearance in the Synod, yet are they Commanded to Exhibit to the Synod whatsoever they shall please to command. Now some time will be required for the Examining of those reasons, if they be of late invention, and such as yet have had nothing said to them. But what the reason of this haste is, will appear hereafter.

I lately writ unto Mr. *Collwall* to know what Order was to be taken for the discharge of my lodging, whether your Honor were to answer it or the publick purse. I would willingly be resolved of it, because I have a desire to retu'ne to the *Hague*; first because the Synod proceeding as it doth, I do not see that it is *opere pretium* for me here to abide: and then because I have sundry private occasions that call upon me to return. For notwithstanding this haste, of which I but now spake, it will be long ere the *Synod* will come to determine any thing, and about that time, if your Honor shall be so pleased, I shall be ready to come back to *Dort*. And so remembring my service unto your Honor I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this first of Febr. 1619. stylo novo.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Service,
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

OUr Synod goes on like a watch, the main Wheels upon which the whole business turnes are least in sight. For all things of moment are acted in private Sessions, what is done in publick is onely for shew and entertainment. Upon Munday last the 4th. of *February*, *stylo novo*. the Deputies met privately in the Evening, where the first thing that came upon the *Stage* was that old impertinent business concerning the *Campenses*, at what time *Scotlerus* a Remonstrant Minister who had been formerly cited to appear before the Synod, having not appeared at time appointed, pretended sickness and for that cause he required the Synods patient forbearance. After this they entred into consultation concerning certain Books and Writings to be conceiv'd partly for declaration of the *Synods* meaning in the Doctrine of the five Articles,

partly in Apology for it. And first it was propoſed that there ſhould be *ſcriptum didacticum* a plain and familiar writing drawn, wherein the Doctrine of the five Articles according to the intent and meaning of the Synod ſhould be perſpicuouſly expreſt for the Capacity of the Common ſort, and that in Dutch and Latin. The Apologicall Writings were of two ſorts, firſt *Scriptum Elenchicum* wherein there were to be refuted ſuch Errours as had been lately broached in prejudice of the received Doctrine: ſecondly *Scriptum Hiſtoricum*, which was to conſiſt of two parts, firſt a narration of the Synods proceedings with the Remonſtrant, from the day of his firſt appearance till the time of his Ejection: for the refutation of many bitter invectives which lately had been written againſt the Synod in that behalf. Secondly a Relation *de cauſis turbarum*, who were the Authors of the late Stirs in time of the ſeparation; for anſwer of *Epiſcopius* his Oration, and other Writings of the Remonſtrants, in which the whole miſorder is turn'd upon the Contra-Remonſtrant. For the *Scriptum didacticum* the *Engliſh* were altogether againſt it: and ſo was *Vosbergius*. Their Reaſon was, becauſe it ſeem'd incongruous that any writing concerning the Doctrine of the Articles ſhould be ſet forth before the Synod had given Sentence. And indeed I muſt confeſs I ſee no great congruity in the propoſall, whilſt matters are in controverſy: Judges walk ſuſpenſly, and are indifferent for either party, and whatſoever their intent be, yet they make no overture of it till time of ſentence come. All this buſineſs of *citing*, *inquiring*, *examining* muſt needs ſeem only as acted on a ſtage, if the Synod intempeſtively before hand bewray a reſolution. But notwithſtanding any reaſon alleadgable againſt it, the thing is concluded, and *Wallæus*, *Udemannus*, and *Triglandius* are deputed to write a diſcourſe to that purpoſe, with the inſpection and ſupervifion of my Lord Biſhop, *Sculterus*, *Brittingerus*, and *Deodatus*. For the *ſcriptum hiſtoricum* in the firſt part concerning the proceeding of the Synod with the Remonſtrant, there is required the pains of *Sculterus* and *Triglandius* in the ſecond part *de cauſis turbarum*, *Latius* muſt beſtow his labour, with the help of *Feſtus Hommius*, of the *South-Holanders* and *North-Hollanders*, who beſt of any know the whole carriage of that matter. To the compoſing of the *ſcriptum elenchicum* there are deputed four of the Provincials Profeſſors, *Jo. Polyander*, *Lubbertus*, *Gomarus* and *Thyſius*, to whom are adjoyned as helpers and Supervifors D. *Davenant*, *Altingius* and *Martinius*. But the buſineſs of this writing paſt not without ſome oppoſition, *Deodat.* altogether miſliked it, *Polyander* requeſted that his pains might be ſpared; *Novi*, ſaith he, *quam ſit mihi curta ſupellex*. But above all D. *Gomarus* was moſt offended at the Propoſall. *Bella mihi video, bella parantur ait.* And therefore quite refuſing to conſent to any Polemicall writing, he ad-

adviſed that the *ſcriptum didacticum* ſhould abſtain, *a non neceſſariis & privatis*, and contein only neceſſary points ſuch as pass by common conſent. That they ſhould expect till the Remonſtrant had ſet forth ſome adverſary writing, and then would be a fitter time to think of ſomewhat in this kind. I blame not D. *Gomarus* if he a little recoil. For being of the *Supralapſarii*, as they terme them, of thoſe who bring the Decree of Gods Election from before the fall, and ſeeing the *Synod* not willing to move that way, but to ſubſide in a lower ſphere, he is to be pardon'd, if he deny his hand to that writing, which he ſuppoſes cannot be ſo warily indicted, but he muſt be forced with his own pen to let fall ſomewhat Prejudiciall to his own opinion. The *Præſes* anſwered that it was not his drift to force the Synod againſt their mindes to ſet out ſuch a Book; but only to take hold of the preſent occaſion whilſt the Forreign Divines were here, and have ſuch a Book in readineſs for uſe hereafter, though it were not now ſet forth. He farther adviſed that thoſe who were to undertake this, ſhould have an eye to the inclination of the *Synod*, and beware as much as might be, that they toucht not there where any man was ſore. Whatſoever the pretence is, the mentioning of theſe Books, before the Determination of the Synod be formally ſet down, muſt needs be very unſeaſonable. It *will make the World to think they came reſolved what to do, which though perchance they did, yet it is no wiſdome to confeſs it.* After this did they adviſe concerning the *Exceptions* againſt the Confeſſion & Catechiſme, and of ſuch as ſhould anſwer them. For the Catechiſme, the *Palatine* Divines undertook it: for the Confeſſion ſome of the Provincialls were appointed, whoſe names I have not learnt. The *Præſes* then by the advice of the Secular Delegates, adviſed the *Synod* to think of gathering a *Synopſis* and brief of all the Synodicall Proceedings, to be ſent to the King of *Englnnd*, and other Foreigne *Princes* and *States*, who had ſent Deputies to the Synod, that ſo they may underſtand what hath been done. For this were there appointed *Altingius Steinius*, the Aſſeſſors and Scribes; and for Supervisors were named *D. Davenant*, *Præſes*. This is the ſumme of that Seſſion.

On Tueſday at Even they met again in private, where every one ſpake in order what they had further to ſay concerning the ſecond Article. Upon ſome occaſion, I know not what, the *Præſes* mentioned *Negotium Vorſtianum, Bertianum, & Venatorianum*, which I note becauſe this is the firſt time that *Vorſtius* his cauſe was named in the Synod. There hath not been any ſtay made amongſt the Forraign Divines but only in this *ſecond* Article, out of which if they can well & clearly wreſt themſelves, their paſſage out of the reſt will be more ſmooth. I lately told your Honor that *Martinius* of *Breme* made ſome doubts amongſt the reſt concerning *Univerſall*

"*verſall Grace*. Not *Martinius* only but Dr. *Ward in this point*. For the "compoſing the doubts of both theſe, that they brake not out to any "publick inconvenience there hath been of late many *private meetings* "*in my Lord Biſhops Lodging, where upon Wedneſday Morning were drawn* "*certain Theſes in very ſuſpenſe and wary termes: to what end, whither to* "*give content to all parryes, or to exhibite to the Synod, or what elſe I know* "*not, by chance I had a view of them, but no opportunity to tranſcribe them.*

On Wedneſday the ſixt of *February*, there was a publick Seſſion in the Evening, at what time *Steinius* of *Heſſia* ſpake to the fourth Article concerning the *reſiſtibility of Grace*, in the ſame manner as others had done before him. He ſpake about an hour & a half, and when he had done, the *Præſes* gave warning of a publike Seſſion to be upon Munday next in the Evening, and ſo diſmiſt the Auditory, but not the Synod, who after this ſate a good ſpace in private conſultation.

7. Febr. 1619.

Your Honors Chaplain and bounden in all Duty and Servoie,

Jo. Hales.

FINIS.

My very Good Lord,

MY buſineſs is now effected by your L. care to my contentment, ſince the firſt day of my coming to Dort, they have made me an allowance equal with our Engliſh Divines, which is 20 Florens a day; a leſs allowance might very well have ſerved me, if I had not been joyned with them, but being joyned, it was not fit that for matter of maintenance I ſhould be in their debts: I am exceedingly beholden to Mr. *Muſius* his kindneſs, not only upon this, but upon all occaſions: It doth proceed I ſuppoſe from your L. to whom as I muſt ever ſtand bound for the return of perpetual thanks and ſervice, ſo I would be a ſuiter to your L. that your L. would be pleaſed to give Mr. *Muſius* thanks for his kindneſs: For our Synod buſineſs as we went too ſlow before, ſo now they would have us go too faſt, they would have us to diſpatch one article a week; which is too little time for ſo weighty queſtions. But I hope they ſhall be done to ſome purpoſe: with the remembrance of my faithfulleſt duty and ſervice to your L. and your worthy Lady, and my beſt wiſhes for both your health and happineſs, I take my leave and reſt.

Dordretch this 2d. of *February Stylo Novo.*

Your L. in all true reſpects of ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord.

SInce Mr. *Hales* his going, here hath been nothing done in the Synod of any note, on the ſeventh of *February* now ſtill was held the 76. Seſſion; in which nothing was done, but that they which before had not ſpoken in the ſecond article did ſpeak what they thought fit, there was nothing of note ſpoken, ſave that one of the *Tranſiſulani*, took it evil that we took the

 Remonſtrants

Remonſtrants meaning in their opinions, where they ſpake beſt and ſoundeſt; but he would have their meaning to be gathered out of all places in their Books, where they ſpeak moſt abſurdly, which we thought was very far beſides the rule of charity: ſo in that Seſſion the Synodical diquiſition for the ſecond article was ended. The Preſident told us moreover, that the Delegats had ſent to the Remonſtrants, and had demanded of them if they had any thing in writ which might ſerve for the explication of their opinion concerning the five articles; and that they had given to them, their confirmation of their opinion concerning the firſt article, as likeways a confutation of that which they held for the Heterodox opinion, and a beginning of their explication of the ſecond article: now he ſhewed us the Book, of which in good faith I was aſhamed to think that men of judgement could imagine that the Synod could have time to peruſe it; for it is a little book of Martyrs, it doth exceed two hundreth *folia* in *folio*; moreover he told us that the Delegats had commanded them within 8. dayes to bring in all they would or could ſay as neceſſary for the underſtanding of their minde concerning the whole five articles. On the 8. of *February Stylo Novo*, was held the 77. Seſſion, in which was nothing done but that the Preſident did dictate to us, theſe drawn out of the Remonſtrants writings concerning the 3. and 4. articles, which I hold not expedient to ſend to your L. but if I ſhal underſtand that your L. do deſire them, I can eaſily ſend them: It was appointed we ſhould this morning ſend our Amanuenſes to write out ſo much of the Remonſtrants big Book as did concern the ſecond article, which we did, and that again Monday we ſhould conſult what we ſhould have done with the great volumn it ſelf; this day the Preſident ſent to our particular Colledge, ſome particular ſtrange points which he had drawn out of their late explication of the ſecond article, and in very pathetical terms did by his letter entreat us to have a care of condemning them in our judgement of the ſame article. Concerning this ſecond article I beſeech your L. give me leave to expreſs my grief, as there is difference touching it in the Synod, ſo there is much difference about it in our own Colledge: will your L. be pleaſed to give me leave to ſay ſomething of it; it is fit your L. ſhould take notice of it, but no wayes as from me; the queſtion amongſt us is whether the words of the Scripture, which are likewiſe the words of our confeſſion. *Chriſtus oblatus eſt aut mortuus pro toto humano genere ſeu pro peccatis totius mundi*) *be to be underſtood of all particular men, or only of the elect who conſiſt of all ſorts of men*; *Dr.* Davenant *and Dr.* Ward *are of* Martinius *of Breme his minde, that it is to be underſtood of all particular men:* the other three take the other expoſition, which is of the writers of the reformed Churches, and namely of my late Lord of *Sariſbury*, both ſides think they are right, and therefore cannot yield one untoanother with a ſafe conſcience: It is my Lord a matter of great conſequence for us to ſet down the expoſition of one article of our Church confeſſion: will your L. there-

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fore be pleaſed to think of this propoſition: ſince our judgement of none of the five articles is to be known, till we have done with them all; what if we ſhould deſire the Preſident to take no notice, but to let us go on to the reſt of the articles, and in mean time we ſhould ſend into *England* the true ſtate of our controverſie, and have advice there from ſome of the chief of the Church. What expoſition they would have to be given of that article of their confeſſion, which we may ſafely follow, for it is no matter of ſalvation in which we differ, before we have done with the reſt of the articles we may eaſily have one anſwer from *England*; if your L. like this motion or any other, your L. ſhould do well by your letters to us to deſire it, if not; I beſeech your L. pardon my error whith proceedeth only from my fear of diſtraction among our ſelves, and from my obedience to his Majeſties charge, who commanded me in all ſuch caſes to have recourſe to your L. for counſel: ſo with my beſt prayers to God for your L. health and happineſs, with the remembrance of my beſt ſervice to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and reſt.

Dordretch this 9. of *February Stylo Novo.*

Your L. in all true reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

THough your L. Letters cauſed ſome anger here with the informer, who was unknown to them, yet believe it, your L. hath done a work worthy of your Honour, and ſuch a one as if it had been left undone, would when it could not have been helped, have made us all heartily wiſh that it had been done: your L. Letters have taken the true effect which your L. in your advice intended, we all acknowledge your L. counſel to be not only good but neceſſary, and yet we are diſpleaſed your L. ſhould be informed of the variance; without which we muſt have been deprived of this your L. wholſome and neceſſary direction: ſince my laſt Letters to your L. it is true that we agreed upon ſome propoſitions, which are without queſtion true, but they were ſuch as did no ways decide the queſtion controverted in the Synod; we retained the words of Scripture and our own confeſſions, but all the difference is in the interpretation of theſe words. When the Canons of the ſecond article come to be made, it will be determined *whether Chriſt did really perſolvere pretium redemptionis pro omnibus ac ſingulis hominibus, an pro ſolis electis*, in the Synod then ſhould we have differed in voices: becauſe I know your L. will write *to my L. Grace*, I beſeech your L. require *a ſpeedy anſwer*, in *our Letters to my L. Grace*, we have *but a little noted the difference which is like to be*; I have here in ** this paper ſent to your L. the true ſtate of the difference, which will be concerning this propoſition. *Chriſtus obtulit ſe pro peccatis to-*

tius mundi, I dare engage my credit with your L. that it is truly ſet down, and more fully then in our Letters to my L. Grace; your L. may take ſo much of it as you ſhall think fit, and make his Grace acquainted with it; and write that this is like to be the difference not in (as your L. is informed) our Colledge, but in the Synod about the ſecond article, and therefore deſire his Grace to ſend us ſome good counſel for our carriage in it; *for certainly moſt voices in the Synod will follow the receaved expoſition of the reformed Doctors, confirmed much by my late L. of Sariſbury his G. brother, who was thought to underſtand the meaning of our confeſſion as well as any man.* I doubt not but that your L. will crown your own work with following of it; when your L. ſhall find the fruit of peace in the Synod among us procured by your L. your L. will finde great matter of joy, ariſing from the conſcience of this Chriſtian counſel; our controverſie among our ſelves, I muſt needs ſay, was with much love and amitie, no man deſiring any thing to be put in our articles, but that we ſhould all approve of; but ſo the queſtion had never been decided: I beſeech your L. pardon this my libertie to your L. it is the love of peace, and my reſpect to your L. Honour doth procure it.

Since my laſt to your L. there hath been three Seſſions: firſt the 78. Seſſion held on the 2. *February Novo Stylo*, in which Dr. *Beckins* one of the Helvetian Devines at the Preſident his intreaty did publickly diſcuſſe the 7. arguments of the Remonſtrants in *Collat. Hag.* whereby they prove *Gratiam regenerationis eſſe reſiſtibilem.* That being done al auditors were removed, and it was inquired what order the Synod thought fitteſt to be taken with the Remonſtrants huge volume, the tranſcription whereof was impoſſible, the Preſident told us he had caſt a general glance over it all, and did finde that a few of the firſt leaves did contain a confirmation of their opinion of the firſt article, but all the reſt did contain nothing but a confutation of the *contra* R. opinion, and an exagitation of their perſons: we deſired ſome part of it to be read; *I muſt needs ſay the Remonſtrants had no favour, for I will aſſure your L. that the Preſident picked out the worſt part of it; there were ſome five leaves read, which contained nothing but a bitter Satyr againſt Calvin, Beza, Parens, Piſcator, Whittaker, Perkins, Bogorman, Feſtus, and twenty more*, but in truth *though unhappily*, yet *finely penned*, me thought it was *Epiſcopius* his tongue; about the taking notice of this book the ſuffrages of the Synod did varie much; yet moſt voices were, that it ſhould be committed to ſome Deputed by the Synod, who ſhould diligently peruſe it, and relate unto the Synod, if they found any new thing in it, which was not contained in their former writings, but yet ſo that any member of the Synod that would, might be preſent with the peruſers. The Delegats gave this mediatory ſentence, becauſe they had obſerved that both the parts of it were deſired by many: they deſired their might be a forenoon Seſſion or two kept for the nonce, in which that ſmall part of the book which contained the confirmation of their opinion

opinion might be read, and every man take with his pen, what he ſhould think fit, the reſt to be put over to perusers, who ſhould make relation to the Synod of any thing they found new or fit: and therefore the Aſſeſſors; and D. *Damannus* the Scribe were entreated to run over the book, & make choice of what things they thought fit to be read in the Synod, which when they have done we ſhall hear more of it.

The preſident telleth us that the campenſes Remonſtrants, who had been lately peremptorily cited to compeire before the Synod were not come, but that they had ſent three others in their place to plead their cauſe: and that he had likewiſe received a ſupplication to the Synod from the *Campenſes contra-Remonſt.* The Synod referred the hearing of the whole cauſe to deputies, one out of every Colledge.

Seſſio 79. 12. *Feb.*] The Synodical diſquiſition concerning the third and fourth article began, many Devines ſpake divers things, the diſquiſition came down to D. *Crocius* of *Breme*, and ſo the Synod was dimiſſed.

Seſſio 81. 12. *Feb.*] We went on in the Synodical diſquiſition of the third and fourth article, where many men ſpake their opinions freely, when it came to *Sibrandus* he ſpake at leaſt an houre, in his ſpeech he took exceptions at ſome things that D. *Martinius* of *Breme* had ſpoken the day before, eſpecially that he had ſaid *God was cauſa phyſica converſionis*; he delivered ſome reaſons againſt it, and deſired *Martinius* to give ſatisfaction to them, and to inſtruct him in that which he knew not before; *Martinius* anſwered for himſelf, but between them both there were more words then ſenſe, *for they made it a meer Philoſophical ſpeculation, like to keeping a philoſophie act, much againſt the gravity of queſtions to be diſcuſſed in a Synod: Martinius* for the truth of his aſſertion appealed to *Goclenius* their preſent, as being *princeps philoſophorum*, who were not wont to be appealed to in Synodical queſtions, and *Goclenius* took the moderator his place bravely upon him; told us that *Themiſtius*, *Averores*, *Alexander Aphrodiſaus*, and many more were of *Martinius* his opinion; and his opinion true in Philoſophy, but yet he would not have it to preſcribe in Divinity; *Sibrandus* fell upon *Goclenius* too, ſo after many words loſt on all ſides, the Preſident cut them off, and ſo that act ended, and ſo the diſquiſition ended: yeſterday we had no Seſſion, this day we have one, of which your L. by God his grace ſhall be advertiſed in my next. So with the remembrance of my beſt ſervice to your L. and your vertuous Lady I reſt.

Dordrecht this 15. of *February*.

Your L. in all faithful ſervice,
Walter Balcanqual.

*** *Oblatio Chriſti facta in cruce perfecta eſt redemptio, propitiatio et ſatisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi tam originalibus quam actualibus. Con-*

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travertitur an per totum mundum intelligatur mundus electorum an mundus omnium particularium hominum: ubi de his tribus ambigitur.

Primo. An retinenda ſit illa diſtinctio quæ receptiſſima eſt apud Reformatos Doctores, quemq; Epiſcopus Sariſburienſis aſtruit pag. 35. *et ſequentibus: mortuus eſt pro omnibus ſecundum ſufficientiam ſeu magnitudinem pretii, non ſecundum proprietatem redemptionis, quidam putant non retinendum eſſe quia putant ſic ſufficienter dici poſſe mortuum pro Diabolis.*

Secundo. Contravertitur de hac propoſitione. Chriſtus obtulit ſe pro omnibus, ſeu perſolvit pretium redemptionis pro omnibus: quidam putant ſenſum eſſe, perſolvit pretium quod ſufficit pro omnibus non autem actu ſolvit pretium illud niſi pro redimendis electis, alii putant hanc expoſitionem incommodam, quia putant commentarium hunc verba ipſa deſtruere. Ea etenim putant ſequi Chriſtum quidem habuiſſe pretium in numerato, quod perſolutum ſuffeciſſet omnibus redimendis; verum Chriſtum non perſolviſſe actu pretium illud, aut factum eſſe propitiationem pro peccatis totius mundi.

Tertio. Contravertitur de ſenſu horum verborum, totius mundi, quidam putant intelligi de ſingulis hominibus, aliis de ſolis electis, (hic eſt ſanguis novi teſtamenti qui funditur pro multis in remiſſionem peccatorum) exponuntque hæc vocabula (totius mundi) ſicut Auguſtinus exponit, epiſt. 48. *Totus mundus eſt in maligno poſitus propter zizania quæ ſunt per totum mundum, et Chriſtus propitiator eſt peccatorum totius mundi propter teſticum quod eſt per totum mundum.*

Quæritur ergo an per totum mundum debeamus intelligere ſingulos homines, an ſolos electos; an vero nulla ſit danda explicatio; ſed retinenda ſint verba confeſſionis abſque ullo commentario.

My very Good Lord,

SInce my laſt unto your L. their hath been nothing of any moment done in the Synod; but what was done, the ſumme of it is this.

Seſſio 81. 13. *Feb. Stylo Novo.*] Credential letters were read from the *Friſians*, by which *Dacon ab Aiſma*, was deputed in the Colledge of the *Friſians* as a member of the Synod in the place of *Meinhardus* a *ſenior Eccleſiæ Leowardenſis*, who lately died here; he took the *oath* of the Synod, & ſo was admitted. *Alſtedius* the only Naſſovical Devine now left, by appointment of the Preſident publickly all auditors being admitted, did vindicate the 10. arguments which the *Contra*-Remonſtrants uſed in *Collat. Hag.* for proving of irreſiſtibility of grace, from the objections, exceptions, and inſtances of the Remonſtrants: and ſo the auditory was diſmiſſed. The Preſident giveth us warning, that on munday at 9. of the clock there ſhould be a Seſſion, in which they would begin to read the great volume of the Remonſtrants, lately given in; and telleth us moreover, that now they had given in their explica-

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tion of the 3. 4. and 5. articles, but no confirmation of them: yet that the Delegats had commanded them within eight days to bring in all they would or could ſay concerning the five articles. Becauſe the two *Campenſes* Remonſtrants being peremptorily cited had not compeired, the Preſident deſired the Synod to think of ſome fit puniſhment for this their contumacie. Firſt we read letters from *Foſculius*, one of theſe two Remonſtrants; in which he excuſeth his abſence by theſe three reaſons: firſt, that the Church could not bear their abſence; becauſe if they ſhould both come, there was none to preach: not that he himſelf was making ready for the journey, but that he was ſtopped, by the tears, howlings, ſighs, outcries, lamentations, and prayers of all ſexes, and ages, and conditions of people, boyes, girls, maſters, ſervants, miſtreſſes, and maids, young and old, and many more ſuch ſpecifications there were; thirdly, that they had ſent two to the Synod to anſwer for them; and therefore do humbly intreat, that they by theſe their procurators may *cauſam dicere*: after theſe were read other latine letters from the Seniors of that ſame Church, wonderful long, but ſo extreamly fooliſh and idle, that one might ſee they were written by ſome indiſcreet pedant, who had run himſelf out of breath with trotting through all the topick places of ſchool boyes rhetorick; they contained in them the ſame reaſons for their miniſters none-comparence, which the former: and moreover did proteſt that their miniſters were ready for their journey, but that the importunity of their roarings, houlings, hindred them: and therefore in a moſt furious ſtrain did deſire the Synod to conceit with themſelves, that they did but now with their eyes behold this ruthful ſpectacle: to wit, The whole city of *Camps* male and female, young and old lying before them, tearing their hair, knocking their breaſts, piercing the ayre with their ſighs, and heaven with their lamentable howlings, having their eyes ſunk in their heads with tears, and their hearts ready to burſt out at their ſides for anguiſh; with ſuch a deal of female fooliſh Rhetorick, as no maſculine pen can relate, they deſire the non-comparence of their Paſtors; of whoſe doctrines they might take ſufficient notice without their perſonal preſence, ſince it was the ſame which the Remonſtrants had maintained in *Collat. Hag.* It is to be noted that the Magiſtrates of *Camps*, who before had written in theſe *citati* favour, did not now write.

Thirdly, there was read the *contra*-Remonſtrants *campenſes*, who were come to accuſe the *citati*, anſwer to the reaſons contained in the *citati* letters, to the firſt: that the Church could not want their preſence, it was anſwered; that the *Claſſis Campenſis* would look to that, as other claſſes now did to the charges of all the reſt, who were preſent at the Synod; beſides that no mans charge in private can excuſe him for non-comparence before a judge, when he is cited. To the ſecond, that they were coming, but were hindred by the people, it was anſwered that a ſeditious tumultuary concourſe of people,

ple, ought not to hinder any man from comparence before a judge, eſpecially ſince it is known that this ſeditious conflux was procured by the *citati*, as is evident by the confeſſions of many, (whoſe names were there expreſſed,) who being called to be preſent at that tumultuary aſſembly refuſed; who did teſtifie moreover, that the *citati* went about begging hands to ſubſcribe theſe fooliſh letters to the Synod. To the third, that they had ſent procurators to anſwer for them; it was anſwered, that it was a thing not heard of, that another man ſhould give account of theſe things which they themſelves had taught. Theſe things being read, the Synod was required to give ſentence: the Delegats ſentence was this: that notwithſtanding all theſe idle excuſes the *citati* were to be condemned of contumacie, to be ſuſpended from their miniſtery, but with this proviſion, that if within fourteen days after the receipt of new Letters from the Synod, they did perſonally compeire, they ſhould be abſolved from this ſentence of ſuſpenſion; if they did not, this ſentence ſhould ſtand firm *pro nunc et tunc et omni tempore*: the reſt of the Synod were entreated that again Munday they would deliberate of this buſineſs, and ſo give in their judgements of it.

Seſſio 82. 18. *Feb.*] Their were read publickly 47. pages of the *Remonſt.* book; all which did contain only one anſwer to the firſt foure places produced by the *contra*-Remonſtrants, in *collatione Hag.* whereby they prove that (*velle Deum ſoles fideles ſalvos facere*; *et infideles in ira relinquere*) is not *totum et integrum prædeſtinationis decretum*; the like tedious prolixity, ſometimes racking of Scripture, ſometimes paring and chipping of it hath not been heard; their was nothing in it which did not rather make men out of love with their cauſe then affect it.

Seſſio 83. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] The ſentence of the Synod was asked concerning the Remonſtrants *Campenſes*, all agreed with the ſentence of the Delegats given at the end of the 81. Seſſion: except only the Divines of *Breme*; who delivered their opinion at large in writing, it was to perſwade a milder courſe, the reaſons were many and well penned: when it came to the Colledge of the Profeſſors, notwithſtanding that D. *Polyander* had delivered their collegiat ſentence; yet D. *Gomarus*, *Martinius* his profeſſed enemy, asketh leave to ſpeak; and ſo entereth into a confutation of that which they of *Breme* had delivered, ſo that he and *Martinius* fell foul in the Synod, very much againſt the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly. In truth I muſt needs ſay, that ſome of the provincials do uſe *Martinius* very uncivily, and all the forraign Devines begin to take it evil at their hands, he is a man very learned, and very honeſt, found in all the five articles, as any man in the Synod, except the Second, in which when the Canons come to be made, your L. ſhall hear there will be more of his opinion beſides himſelf, notwithſtanding of all this; becauſe he doth miſlike many of the *contra*-Remonſtrants broad ſpeeches in many points, which I think every learned and godly man will do; they uſe him with ſo much

much diſcourteſie, as I will aſſure your L. he hath been very near leaving of the Synod, and his colleagues were half purpoſed to go with him, what a blow this would give to the credit of the Synod, any man may eaſily perceive, the provincials in this take not the right courſe. *Though one be againſt the Remonſtrants in all the five articles in ſubſtance; yet if he differ from them but in manner of ſpeaking, they hold him as not ſound:* if by your L. means the Preſident were advertiſed of theſe things, it might do much good. What farther paſſeth in the Synod your Lordſhip by God his grace ſhall hear, in mean time with the remembrance of my beſt ſervice to your good Lordſhip, I take my leave and reſt.

Dordrecht this 18. of *February Stylo Novo:*

Your L. in all true reſpects of ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

Since my laſt Letters to your L. there hath been no buſineſs of any great note in the Synod, but that which I am ſure your L. will be ſorry to hear contention like to come to ſome head, if it be not prevented in time: for there hath been ſuch a plot laid *ex compoſito* for diſgracing of the *Bremenſes*, as I think the Synod ſhall receive ſmall grace by it.

Seſſio 84. 19. *Feb. Stylo Novo.*] That part of the Remonſtrants big book was read, which concerned the 3. and 4. Articles; becauſe theſe two Articles were now in deliberation: there were read 57 pages, which for the moſt part did contain nothing but an exagitation of ſome hard phraſes collected out of *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, *Piſcator*, many *Contra*-Remonſtrants.

Seſſio 85. *die* 19. *Feb. eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Acronius* and another of the Church of *Camps*, who had compeired in the cauſe againſt the Remonſtrants there, were called in, and the decree of the Synod made againſt them whom they accuſed was read; [the tenor whereof your L. may ſee in my laſt Letters.] D. *Gomarus* being he at whom the laſt diſquiſition of the 3. and 4. Article ended, was entreated by the Preſident to ſpeak his minde of the ſaid Articles, but *Sibrandus* deſireth the Preſident firſt to give him leave to adde ſome few things to that he had ſpoken the day before: now what he added was nothing but a renewing of that ſtrife, which was between him and *Martinius* in the laſt Seſſion: two things he alledged, firſt that he had been at *Goclenius* his lodging, conferring with him about that propoſition, whether God might be called *cauſa phyſica* of humane actions, and delivered certain affirmations pronounced by *Goclenius*, tending to the negative, for the truth of his relation he appealed to *Goclenius* there preſent, who teſtified that it was ſo: next whereas *Martinius* had alledged a place out of *Pareus*

for the affirmative in *opere converſionis*, *Sibrandus* read a great many places out of *Pareus* tending to the contrary; and (no queſtion it being plotted before) he entreateth that ſome of the *Palatines* (naming them all ſeverally) who were *Pareus* his colleagues, would ſpeak what they did know of *Pareus* his minde concerning the ſaid propoſition: *Sculletus* beginneth with a ſet ſpeech which he had in writ lying before him; but ſuch a ſpeech it was, as I, and I think all the *exteri* were exceedingly grieved it ſhould have come from a man of ſo good worth. The ſumme of it was this, that he did know upon his own knowledge, that *Pareus* did hold the contrary of that which had been falſely fathered upon him in the Synod, that he could not endure to hear his deareſt colleague ſo much abuſed, as he had been by ſome men in the Synod; moreover that he could not now diſſemble the great grief he had conceived, that ſome in the Synod went about to trouble ſound divinity with bringing in *tricas Scholaſticas*, ſuch as was to make God *cauſam Phyſicam converſionis*; (that was for *Martinius*,) ſuch *portenta vocabulorum* as *determinare* and *non determinare voluntatem*; that ſome men durſt ſay that there were ſome doubts in the fourth Article, which *Calvin* himſelf had not throughly ſatisfied, nor other learned reformed Doctors; that it was to be feared that they intended to bring in Jeſuits Divinity in the reformed Churches, and to corrupt the youth committed to their charge, with a ſtrange kinde of Divinity: this laſt ſpeech concerned D. *Crocius*, *Sculletus* delivered his minde in exceeding bitter and diſgraceful words, and repeated his bittereſt ſentences twice over: he having ended, *Martinius* with great modeſty anſwered, firſt that he would read *Pareus* his own words, which he did, next that for *Sibrandus*, he wondered that he would now in publick bring theſe things up: ſince out of his love to peace, that very day he had ſent his colleague *Crocius* to *Sibrandus*, with a large explication of that ſenſe in which he had delivered that propoſition, with which explication *Sibrandus* himſelf had ſent him word that he was fully ſatisfied, and ſo he made account that that buſineſs had been peaceably tranſacted: all this while *Crocius* ſpoke nothing: *Gomarus* beginneth to go on in the diſquiſition, but I think he delivered a ſpeech againſt the *Bremenſes*, which none but a *mad man* would have uttered. Firſt, whereas *Martinius* had ſaid that he did deſire the reſolution of this doubt, *qui Deus poſſit ab homine, cujus potentia eſt finita, fidem, qua eſt opus omnipotentiæ, exigere*, and that neither *Calvin* nor any of our Divines had yet plainly enough untyed that knot, he replied firſt, that he that had ſaid ſo was not *dignus qui ſalveret Calvino corrigiam*; and that for the doubt it ſelf it was ſuch a ſilly one that *ipſi pueri in trivio* could *ipſius ſolutionem decantare*, at which ſpeech every body ſmiled, moreover whereas *Martinius* in his anſwer to *Sculletus* had not ſpoken one word againſt him, but only this, that he was ſorrie that one who had now 25. years been a profeſſor of Divinity ſhould be thus uſed for uſing a School term; *Gomarus* very wiſely had a fling at that

too,

too, and telleth the Synod that ſince ſome men thought to carry it away *annorum numero*, he himſelf had been a profeſſor not only 25. but thirty five years; next he falleth upon *Crocius*, and biddeth the Synod take heed of theſe men that brought in theſe *monſtra, portenta vocabulorum* the barbariſmes of the Schools of the Jeſuits, *determinare* and *non determinare voluntatem*, with many ſuch ſpeeches, delivered with ſuch ſparkling of his eyes, and fierceneſs of pronunciation, as every man wondered the Preſident did not cut him off, at laſt he cut of himſelf I think for want of breath, and the Preſident giveth *Celeberrimo Doctori Gomaro* many thanks for that his learned grave and accurate ſpeach; the *exteri* wondered at it; at laſt my L. of *Landaffe*, in good faith in a very grave, ſhort, ſweet ſpeech, (for which as for one of the beſt I am perſwaded he ever delivered, we & all the *Exteri* thought he deſerved infinite commendations:) he ſpake to the Preſident to this purpoſe, that this Synodical diſquiſition was inſtituted for edification, not for any men to ſhow *ſtudium contentionis*: and therefore did deſire him to look that the knot of unity were not broken: in this his L. ſpeech he named no man, the laſt word was hardly out of my L. lips, but furious *Gomarus* knowing himſelf guilty, delivereth this wiſe ſpeech: *Reverendiſſime D.* Præſul *agendum eſt hic in Synodo non authoritate ſed ratione*: that it was free for him to ſpeak in his own place, which no man muſt think to abridge him of by their authority, my L. replyed nothing; but the Preſident told my L. that *celeberrimus* D. *Gom.* had ſaid nothing againſt mens perſons, but their opinions, and therefore that he had ſaid nothing worthy of reprehenſion: this gave every man juſt occaſion to think the Preſident was on the plot: *Martinius* againſt this ſpeech of *Gomarus* ſaid nothing, but that he was ſorry that he ſhould have this reward for his far journey. The diſquiſition went on to *Thyſius*, who very diſcreetly told the Synod he was ſorry *Martinius* ſhould be ſo exagitated, for a ſpeech which according to *Martinius* his explication was true, juſt as *Thyſius* was thus ſpeaking, *Gomarus* and *Sibrandus*, who ſate next him, pulleth him by the ſleeve, talketh to him with a confuſed angry noiſe in the hearing and ſeeing of all the Synod, chiding him that he would ſay ſo; afterward *Thyſius* with great modeſty deſired *Martinius* to give him ſatisfaction of one or two doubtful ſentences he had delivered, which *Martinius* thanking him for his courteſie fully did: the Preſident was certainly on this plot againſt *Martinius*, for at that ſame time he did read out of a paper publickly a note of all the hard ſpeeches *Martinius* had uſed: all this while D. *Crocius* his patience was admired by all men, who being ſo groſſely abuſed & diſgraced could get leave of his affections to hold his peace. What this is like to come to I will tell your L. after I have ſet down the Seſſions.

Seſſio 86. 20. *Feb.*] There were read 63. pages of the Remonſtrants book, which concerned the fifth Article, it was for moſt part a confutation of the Doctors above named.

Seſſio 87. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] Dr. *Mayerus* one of the Helvetians, publickly all auditors being admitted, diſcuſſed the fifth Article *de perſeverantia Sanctorum*: he did rather like an Orator then a School-man.

Seſſio 88. 21. *Feb.*] There are read publickly 60 pages of the Remonſtrants book, which concerned the firſt Article: they were of the ſame ſtuffe with the former, a confutation of the ſame men.

Seſſio 89. 22. *Feb.*] There were read 57. pages of the Remonſtrants book, which concerned their opinion of reprobation, in which they did lay open the harſh opinions of many of our men, which unleſs the Synod do condemn, as well as the opinion of the Remonſtrants, I ſee not how they can give the world ſatisfaction touching their indifferencie: among the reſt which was read, this was one if your L. can endure the ſmell of it, *inſtans Contra-R. nos ſumus patroni reproborum, Reſp. juſtitiæ divinæ patroni ſumus non reproborum; ſicut dicendum eſt D. Sibrandum inſcripto ſuo adverſus Vorſtium non ſuſcepiſſe defenſionem latrinarum dum defendit deum eſſe in fœtidiſſimis latrinis, ſed tantum ſuſcepiſſe defenſionem omnipræſentiæ divinæ, quemadmodum nos juſtitiæ*, this is all was worthy the noting in that lecture.

Seſſio 90. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Deo datus* was appointed to diſcourſe of the firſt Article, but being ſick, the five Belgick profeſſors diſcuſſed it.

Seſſio 91. 23. *Feb.*] There were read ſome 35. pages of the Remonſtrants book, concerning reprobation, and ſo the whole book is ended.

Now my L. concerning this matter of the *Bremenſes*, is come to this height: that they thought to have gone home, and withal were ready to have printed an apology for themſelves, and an narration of their hard uſage in the Synod: but that ſome of the *Exteri Theologi* came to the Engliſh Colledge, and deſired them to help to quench this fire, all the *Exteri* take to heart theſe two things, firſt that ſtrangers ſhould be uſed ſo diſgracefully, for uſing two School terms, which are both very common, next that *Gomarus* durſt openly in the Synod give ſuch an irreverend anſwer to my L. of *Landaffe*, for which unleſs all the *exteri* may have ſatisfaction, (Except the *Palatines*) I believe their will be a ſhameful ſturre in the Synod; they deſired the Engliſh to labour the *Bremenſes* to reconciliation with *Scultetus*, which this night they are doing; what becometh of it your L. ſhall hear; but I have ſmall hope, for the *Bremenſes* will take no ſatisfactiou but publick, becauſe it was a publick imputation upon their profeſſions and School, as if that were a place for corrupting of youth: and I think *Scultetus* will be loath to give publick ſatisfaction; yet my L. Biſhop of *Landaffe*, D. *Goad*, and my ſelf have dealt with *Scultetus*, and finde him tractable, Dr. *Davenant*, and D. *Ward* have dealt with the *Bremenſes*, and finde them mightily incenſed, *Martinius* hath never come to the Synod ſince, but with the reſt of his colleagues they have complained to the Delegats, who I think will take order with *Gomarus*: we the Engliſh are purpoſed (but I know not whether that purpoſe ſhall

ſhall hold) to deſire the Delegats to take notice of the wrong offered by *Gomarus* to my L. of *Landaffe*; my Lord, all I will ſay is this, there are two men in the Synod, *Sibrandus*, but eſpecially *Gomarus*, who is able to ſet it on fire, unleſs they be look't too; I think there is no man will ſay, but that *Gomarus* hath wronged the *Bremenſes* infinitely, hath wronged exceedingly my L. of *Landaffe*, and in him all the Engliſh Colledge, your L. counſel to the Preſident may bring much water to this fire.

There is here a little Pamphlet here to be ſold in the Synod. *Jambi de concordia et pace*, written by *Petrus Bertius* the author of *Apoſtaſia ſanctorum*: they ſay it hath been out a great while; if any of the ſtates have ſeen it, I wonder he is not ſeverely puniſhed: it is the moſt ſeditious Satyr againſt this ſtate that ever I did read. Here is all, and I am ſorry I had ſo much to write to your L. ſo with the remembrance of my humbleſt duty to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and reſt.

Dordrecht this 23. of *February*, *Stylo Novo*.

Your L. faithful and reſpectful ſervant, *Walter Balcanqual*.

My very Good Lord,

FOr your L. laſt letters to my ſelf, and the news in the letters incloſed, as I ſtand much obliged to your H. ſo much more I with all others, who love peace and long for the happy ſucceſs of this Synod, muſt ever ſtand much obliged to your L. for your Letters to the Preſident; ſo full of ſober, good, and neceſſarie counſel, the happy fruit whereof I hope during our being there we ſhall not ceaſe to finde, as we have already begun to taſte a little of the ſweetneſs of it; for the very next Seſſion after the Preſident had received your L. letters, at the beginning in very milde and diſcreet words he entreated all the members of the Synod, that in their diſquiſition of the fifth Article, they ſhould abſtain from all bitterneſs, and perſonal oppoſition, and follow meekneſs and brotherly kindneſs, which in that diſquiſition was obſerved by the two Belgick profeſſors, very ſtrictly, and their phraſe and ſtile tempered otherwiſe then heretofore it hath been; ſo as one might ſee they had been acquainted with the good counſel of your L letters, for I will aſſure you they followed it: your L. joy can not chuſe but be great when you remember the great peace procured by your L. I ſhould hold my ſelf an enemy to the weal-publick, if I ſhould not particularly inform your L. of all the paſſages here, by whom if any of them go amiſs, they may ſo happily be corrected. The reaſon why I have been ſo long a writing is, becauſe I wanted news of which our Synod now is very barren, and will be ſo till towards the latter end of the next week; at which time all Colledges judgements of the five articles will

will begin to be read, the matters now in hand are matters of knowledge not of action: yet I will be bold for fashions sake to send your L. a note of such Sessions as have been since my last letters to your L.

Sessio 92. 25. *Feb. Stylo Novo.*] We bent on in the Synodical disquisition of the 3. and 4 article, which at that Session was made an end of, after that the President did dictate to us, and all we did write large *Theses* collected out of the Remonstrants books upon the five Articles.

Sessio 93. 26. *Feb.*] Since the Remonstrants by commandement from the Delegats, had given up the defence of their opinion touching the second Article, their were read 56. pages of this there other new volume, in which they studied to overthrow that distinction, *sufficientia et efficacia mortis Christi*, and go about to prove that those places of Scripture, which say that Christ dyed *pro peccatis totius mundi*, are to be enlarged to all particular men, not to be restrained *ad mundum electorum.*

Sessio 94. 27. *Feb.*] There were read publickly 53. pages more of this volume of the Remonst. upon the second Article, in which they did vindicate their own arguments propounded in *Collat. Hag.* from the instances and exceptions of the *Contra*-Remonst. in the same Conference.

Sessio 95. *eodem die post meridiem.*] *Deo datus* was this Session appointed to discuss the first Article; but because of the continuance of his sickness, his colleague *Tronchinus* did perform that task for him, publickly all auditors being admitted, who with good commendation did establish *Sanctorum perseverantiam.*

Sessio 96 28. *Feb.*] There was an end made of the reading the Remonst. volume on the second Article, there were read some 54. pages, which were spent in the vindicating the rest of their own arguments from the exceptions of the *contra*-Remonst. in *Collat. Hag.*

Sessio 97. *eodem die post meridiem.*] We begun the Synodical disquisition upon the 3. Article, where every one of our Colledge spoke at large, but especially my Lr of *Landaffe*, who I will assure your L. hath by his most accurate and excellent speech at that Session gained unto himself wonderful great reputation; I donbt not but he will send a copie of it to your L. and then it will speak for it self, believe me I never heard him do any thing like it, and so thinketh every one in the Synod it was learned, devout, and the stile masculous; *quicquid dixero minus erit*: the disquisition came to the Helvetian Divines.

Sessio 98. 1. *March.*] We went on in our Synodical disquisition of the fifth Article, where my L. of *Landaffe* his yesterday speech was cited by two or three several Divines with great Honour and commendation: the disquisition came to the Colledge of the *Geldrians.*

This my Lord is all we have done, when there is any thing worthy the relating, I shall not fail to advertise your L. hoping your L. in this time of my other

other buſineſs, which muſt not be neglected, will pardon both the rudeneſs of the hand and ſtile; for both which my neceſſary plea is want of time. The matter between the *Bremenſes*, and *Scultetus*, with the other two profeſſors is taken up by the *Præſes*, and the *Delegats*; the *Bremenſes* have ſhewn their inclination to peace, and were contented with private ſatisfaction, the other three did proteſt they had no hard opinion of them, but accounted them learned, religious, orthodoxal, were ſorry they had done that which was done, and would do ſo no more: the *Bremenſes* deſired that one of our Colledge might be preſent at this ſatisfaction, but the other three would no way yield to it. *Gomarus* was there admoniſhed to repair to my L. of *Landaffe*, and to teſtifie unto him his ſorrow for the word which unawares had proceeded from him to his L. in the Synod; but yet the old tuffe man is not come to his L. I hope after this we ſhall live in peace; which I muſt needs confeſs for the greateſt part of it, we are debters to your L. Notwithſtanding the late proclamation ſet out by the ſtates General, for reſtraining the printing of all ſeditious books during the time of the Synod: yet even now in the Belgick tongue, there is come forth a ſeditious pamphlet, with no name of Author or Printer, containing all the acts which hath been made againſt the Remonſtrants in this Synod, eſpecially by the *Delegats*; a book made only to incite the common people to a diſlike of the Synod, they are not to be ſold, but they ſend them abroad among their favorites. I have all this day been uſing means for compaſſing one of them to ſend to your L. but cannot, yet there is one of them promiſed me, but it may be your L. by this time hath ſeen ſome of them. By my letters from *England*, from one who I believe knoweth it, it wil light heavy upon the party your L. nameth in the end of your letter; as much I mean as his place in the State is worth; their is ſcuffling for to be his ſucceſſor: what is reported of Mr. *Pakker* is but gueſſing, your L. is in name for it at Court, but upon what ground I know not, I would it were as ſure as my wiſhes are ſtrong. So with the remembrance of my beſt ſervice to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and reſt.

Dordrecht this 2. of *March*.

Your L. in all true reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual*.

My very Good Lord,

THough our Synod yieldeth no great argument of writing, for now we are taken up in hearing altogether, yet I can not omit my duty in letting your L. know how we ſpend the time.

Seſſio 99. 4. March, Stylo Novo.] The Preſident did invite the whole Synod to the Funeral of a Helvetian Gentleman, one Mr. *Staffurius* who came hither,

hither, as *comes itineris* with the Helvetian Divines, the invitation was againſt the morrow at 11. of the clock. The Preſident moreover with great joy told the Synod that he had received news from the Magiſtrates of *Camps*; whereby they ſignifie that they reſt well ſatisfied in the laſt decree of the Synod concerning the ſuſpenſion of their cited miniſters, and continuance of the ſame ſuſpenſion, in caſe of their not comparence within 14. days after new advertiſement, that they would do what in them lyeth to perſwade them to comparence, which if they refuſed, that they would not give them any more countenance or protection, as heretofore they had done; moreover that they did with all due reſpect expect the reſolutions of the Synod, concerning the points of religion now in queſtion, to which they mean to ſubmit themſelves wholly, and by their own example of obedience, encourage and perſwade as much as in them lyeth their diſtracted people to yield the like obedience, and that in the mean time the care of their Miniſters Flocks ſhould be no pretence to their cited miniſters for not comparence, becauſe that during their abſcence, they themſelves would undertake to ſee their cures ſufficiently diſcharged both for reading and preaching of the word: I muſt needs ſay this meſſage was much unlike their former letters, which they were wont to write in favour of their Remonſtrant Miniſters. Moreover the Preſident told us that D. *Altingius* one of the Palatine Divines, had brought him letters to the Synod from old D. *Paræus* of *Heidelberge*, together with his judgement in a written book of the five Articles in controverſie, which he told us ſhould preſently after the Synodical diſquiſition be read. We go on in the Synodical diſquiſition of the fifth Article, where ſome of the provincials obſerved ſome things, ſome nothing, and ſo at this Seſſion quickly our diſquiſition upon the firſt Article was ended; then *Paræus* letters to the Synod were read; the ſumme whereof was this, I am not ſo good an Engliſh man as to adventure to tranſlate, I will therefore give you the Latine.

Quantum doloris et lachrymarum ſentiebamus hic omnes jam per aliquot annos ex flendo illo ſchiſmate et diſſidio quod Eccleſiam Veſtram Florentiſſimam laceravit, tantum etiam et nunc gaudii et gratulationum experimur ex coactione Celeberrimæ hujus Synodi, cujus ope et ſaluberrimis conſiliis ſperamus altiſſimum hoc vulnus ſanatum iri; quantum gloriandi materiam dederit Pontificiis Veſtrum ſchiſma palam eſt omnibus: illis ut Synodus obſtruat os, poſſitque hoc Eccleſia Veſtra incendium reſtinguere, pacemque veſtram nimis collapſam reſtituere, illud eſt quod ſicut expectant à vobis boni omnes, ita et à Deo Opt. Max. omnibus precibus expetunt: Utinam daretur mihi in ultima jam ſenectute venerandam hanc Synodum conſpicari, Verum cum illud ætas mea mihi deneget tametſi Doctiſſimi mei Collegæ meas vices ſupplebunt, viſum tamen fuit mihi meam quoque de famoſis illis 5. Articulis ad Reverentias Veſtras ſententiam perſcribere, et una cum Eccleſiæ Reformatæ meam quoque ὁμοδοξίαν teſtatam facere; Videbitis me hic conditionatam Electionem rejicere, Reprobationem una cum D. Calvino paſſim, præſertim Inſti-

tutionum

tu iorum lib. 3. *ad vitioſitatem referre, ſi minus fortaſſis quam par eſt Prædeſtinationis myſteria pertractavero, illud pudate conſulto factum eſſe, ſunt enim illa adoranda magis quam diſcutienda: ſolitam et receptam de merito mortis Chriſti diſtinctionem puta ſufficientiæ et efficientiæ, videbitis me retinere, Diſtinctionem illam de reſiſtibilitate et irreſiſtibilitate gratiæ Divinæ velim ad authores ſuos puta Jeſuitas relegari; Heteredoxa illa de apoſtaſia ſanctorum ſententia ſe ipſam jugulat. Det Deus, ut in omnibus orthodoxam doctrinam retineatis, et pacem unice ſectemini.* The ſubſcription was, *Rever. Veſt. Obſervantiſſimus David* Paræus *Septuagenarius Scribebam manu propria*: This was the ſumme of this letter, and of the Seſſion too.

Seſſio 100. 5. *of March.*] There was read publickly ſo much of *Parœus* his ſentence as concerned the firſt and ſecond Article, in which he did accurately diſpute againſt the Remonſtrants opinion in both, and ſpent a great many pages in expounding and confirming the received diſtinction of the ſufficiency and efficiency of the merit of Chriſt his death.

Seſſio 101. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] Dr. *Martinius* of *Breme* appointed by the Preſident publickly, all auditors admitted, did very accurately and ſoundly diſcourſe of the true Deity of Chriſt, and eſpecially laboured to prove his *omnipreſentia*, oppoſing and anſwering all thoſe places of *Vorſtius* in which in his diſputation *de Deo* he calleth the *omnipreſentia* of Chriſt into queſtion.

Seſſio 102. 6. *March.*] We went on in the publick reading of D. *Parœus* his judgement upon the 3. 4. and 5. Articles; where I muſt needs ſay that he did moſt accurately, and ſoundly, and methodically, with great ſubtilty and variety of reaſons overthrow the Remonſtrants opinions of Reſiſtibility of grace, and the apoſtaſie of the ſaints, one would little think that that wit and judgement could be ſo young in ſo great age: the Preſident told us that after the Collegial judgement were read, that the Synod by their publick letters muſt needs give him many thanks for theſe his great and good pains, as he did not doubt but that the Eſtates General would take order for doing of the like. So one of the Scribes by the Preſident his appointment, was beginning to read our Colledge his judgement, but D. *Davenant* told the Preſident, that he thought it greatly concerned the dignity of the Synod, that the Collegial ſuffrages ſhould not be read thus privately, but that they ſhould be read as publickly as might be, all auditors being admitted; both becauſe it might be that the Remonſtrants being moved by force of their reaſons, might relent ſomething in their opinions; and all other auditors be edified and confirmed in the truth, as likewiſe; becauſe all auditors ſhould perceive the conſent of ſo many ſeveral learned mens judgements, who by the more perverſe ſort might otherwiſe be thought to uſe ſome plot and conſpiracy to make their opinions meet together. This unexpected motion did not a little trouble the Preſident, who was altogether ſet againſt any ſuch courſe, which made all; eſpecially the *exteri* wonder that he ſhould offer to paſs over a matter of ſo

great conſequence without asking the Synods advice for the manner of reading their own judgements; the reaſon why this motion was made by our Colledge was this; in forming of our judgements, as we have ſtudied to condemn all in the Remonſtrants, which can juſtly be taxed; ſo we took pains to condemn no more but that which muſt be condemned, and to condemn too ſome hard phraſes of the *contra* Remonſtrants, eſpecially in the matter of Reprobation; but they are only phraſes; now we know that in the making of the Canons no words of ours, which ſound any thing that way ſhall be expreſſed, becauſe the provincials in forming of the Canons will carry us down by voices; and therefore we deſired that in the reading of our judgements, at leaſt our ingenuity might be taken notice of by all the auditors. Well to this motion the Preſident made this anſwer, that within theſe few days he himſelf was in that ſame opinion which now was propounded; but having with more mature deliberation thought upon it, and asked the advice of his Aſſeſſors, that he had now thought it fit, the judgements ſhould be read, no auditors being admitted, unleſs it were ſome few choice miniſters of good worth, who did here attend about the Synod, the reaſons moving them thereunto were theſe. Firſt, becauſe this courſe ſeemeth to come nearer the intent of the commiſſion of the Eſtates General then the other, in which they were appointed to enquire after Synodical ſuffrages privately among themſelves without other auditors, unleſs the Synod ſhould think it fit to admit auditors. Secondly, becauſe it had been a cuſtome hitherto obſerved in all Synods and counſels to take the ſuffrages, all auditors being excluded. Thirdly, becauſe, though the ſuffrages of all Colledges do agree (as he perceived by reading of them) in the thing it ſelf; yet becauſe there was ſome diſagreement in phraſes and forms of ſpeaking, it was to be feared that the Remonſtrants and other Jeſuits and Dominicans preſent, would make great matter of theſe verbal differences, that they would caſt abroad among the people ſtrange reports of the diſſenſions of the Synod, and in another caſe, that the Remonſtrants no queſtion (as lately they had done) would put out in print the opinion of the *S*ynod concerning the Articles, before the Canons were formed by the Synod, and in their pamphlet no doubt they would oppoſe ſentence to ſentence, whereſoever they might take hold of the leaſt ſuſpition of difference. Fourthly, and chiefly, becauſe by this courſe the judgement of the Synod concerning the 5. Articles, ſhould go abroad among the people, before either the Synod it ſelf had determined what ſhould be their judgements, or the Eſtates General could be made acquainted with the judgements of the Colledges and Synod, who notwithſtanding in all reaſons and good manners ought next to the Synod it ſelf, to know what is likely to be the event of all buſineſs in it: the Preſident added that ſince this was but a matter of order, he hoped the Synod would truſt him and the Aſſeſſors with the managing of it; but perceiving that a great many were not content with it, he was

glad,

glad to put the matter to voices; the *Delegats* being asked their voice, they deſired the matter might be deferred till the afternoon, and ſo the *Synod* was diſmiſſed.

The Preſident in mean time ſent *Dammanus* one of the Scribes, to entreat us to give way to the Preſidents motion; and no queſtion, they laboured other Colledges as well as us; but certainly all the Preſidents reaſons above mentioned might eaſily have been anſwered; for my part I think his courſe was *honestior*, but ours *honeſtior*.

Seſſio 103. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] Voices were asked concerning the manner of reading the Collegial judgements. The *Delegats* ſuffrage pronounced by *Heinſius* was, that in reading of the judgements, all auditors whatſoever, alwel *contra*-Remonſt. as Remonſt. ſhould be excluded; and beſides they entreat all the members of the Synod, that they would conceal as much as might be the things that were done in the Synod. The whole members of the Synod without exception according to the judgement of the *Delegats*. So (*Q. F. F.* of the firſt Article, *q; ſit*) we begun to read the Colledge judgements, at this Seſſion were read the judgements of our Colledge, and the Colledge of the *Palatines*, both of a juſt length, and agreeable in all things; except that the *Palatines* had added to the end of theirs a very good and neceſſary counſel for the ſober and wholſome manner of propounding to the people the doctrine of Election and Reprobation; we purpoſe after our judgement on the fifth Article, to give in ſuch a counſel for the ſober propounding of the whole five Articles to the people.

Seſſio 104. 7. *March.*] There were publickly read the judgements of the Colledg of the *Haſſians* who were exceeding long, of the *Helvetians* who were but ſhort and grave, of *Alſtedius*, he who is only *ſuperſtes* of the *Naſſovians*, who was but ſhort, there was no difference between their judgements, and the others which were read before them.

Seſſio 105. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] There were read publickly, firſt the judgement of the *Genevenſes*, who were pretty long; they kept a form by themſelves, for where the confirmations of other Colledges *Theſes*, conſiſted of reaſons, places of Scriptures, and fathers, their confirmations were nothing but places of Scripture, barely propounded in great number, and in a very fine contexture and frame; at the end they uſed this ſhort peroration, that they had ſimply out of the Scripture delivered, that concerning the firſt Article, which they knew to be agreeable with the Church of *Geneva*, nay, and beſide of all the Churches of *France* which did ſtick to the French confeſſion. Next was read the judgement of the *Bremenſes*, which was of a juſt length very ſound and accurate, in all things agreeable to the other judgements read before, except only with this difference; whereas other judgements had ſaid either nothing of the election and ſalvation of Infants begotten of faithful parents and dying in their Infancy, or they which had touched it, had

determined that faithful parents had no reaſon to doubt of it; but might very well for any thing they did know hope and perſwade themſelves of it: the *Bremenſes* did abſolutely determine that all ſuch Infants dying in their infancie if they were baptized were certainly ſaved, concluding it not only *ex judicio charitatis* as others had done, but *ex judicio certitudinis* too: Next begun to be read the judgement of the Divines of *Embdane*; from whom (as Mr. *Hales* well knoweth) extraordinary prolixity was to be expected; after it had been read half an houre the Preſident told us, that becauſe the houre was paſt, the reſt muſt be left till the morrow.

Seſſio 106. 8. *Martii.*] We went on in reading the judgement of the *Embdanes*, which at this Seſſion continued yet full two houres, in the coldeſt weather that we have felt. So now the judgements of all the *Exteri Theologi* concerning the firſt Article were read, among whom there was nothing to be ſeen but full and orthodoxal conſent, for which the Preſident told us God was to be praiſed, and he prayed God that the like Harmonie might be found among the Provincials: my Lord this is worth the obſerving, that there is no Colledge yet which hath not overthrown *Gomarus* his opinion of the ſubject of Predeſtination; for though none of them did directly diſpute againſt it, yet all of them expreſly took it as granted, that not *homo creabilis*, but *homo lapſus* was *ſubjectum* both of Election and Reprobation, which I think doth trouble *Gomarus* not a little. Now the *Embdanes* judgement being ended, we begun to read the judgement of the Colledge of the Belgick profeſſors, where at the very firſt to our grief we obſerved the Belgick humour of particular opinions; for there are but five of that Colledge as we are of ours, and yet they are divided into three parts, and have given in three diſtinct and ſeveral judgements. D. *Polyander*, D. *Thyſius*, and D. *Wallæus* have given in and ſubſcribed one judgement, Dr. *Sibrandus* hath given in another judgement by himſelf; and D. *Gomarus* a third judgement by himſelf; at the latter end of this Seſſion the firſt three their judgements begun to be read; but by that time two pages were read the houre was paſſed, and ſo the reſt of it was continued till the next occaſion, only my L. I muſt tell you that ſo much as was read, giveth us little hope of agreement among them, for where as other Colledges had taken it as granted only, that *homo lapſus* was *ſubjectum Predeſtinationis*, they in theſe two pages did only diſpute by many arguments againſt *Gomarus* his opinion, and proved that largely, which others had only taken as a ground, their arguments *Gomarus* I ſee him note; what difference ſhall further happen in their judgements, your L. ſhall underſtand by my next.

Seſſio 107. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] This Seſſion was publick, all auditors being admitted, in which D. *Deodatus* did at great length handle theſe two queſtions. 1. *Quantum differat fides προσκαιρου ſeu temporaneorum à vera et juſtificante Regenitorum fide.* 2. *Quouſque conceditur Diabolo progredi in oppugnanda juſtificatorum fide*; he did very ſweetly juſt as he uſeth to preach, not as Doctors uſe to do in Schools.

This

This is all which is done this week; for this day being Saturday we have no Seſſion. The laſt Sunday I (in which I returned the letter your L. was pleaſed to ſend me) ſent to your L. all which had paſſed the week before, which I hope your L. had, your L. ſeeth there are but ordinary paſſages yet in the Synod, if there were any thing worthy of extraordinary note, I ſhould not fail with all diligence to give your L. notice of it; in mean time with many thanks to your L. for all your L. courteſies, and the remembrance of my humbleſt ſervice to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave, ever entreating your L. that I may be accounted by your L. as I am.

I doubt not but your L. hath ſeen this pamphlet, yet if you have not, here it is.

Dordrecht this 9. of *March*, 1619.

Your L. in all true reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord.

SUch things as have paſſed in our Synod, ſince my laſt letters unto your L. I have ſend your L. as briefly as I can: I hope now at length towards the latter end of the next week, we ſhall come to the making of the Canons.

Seſſio 108. 11. *Martii Stylo Novo.*] *Georgius Fabricius* a *Naſſovian* Divine, ſubſtituted in the place of D. *Biſterfield*, who died here, was with the accuſtomed ſolemnity admitted into the Synod: we go on in reading the judgment of the three Belgick profeſſors, which was very ſound and of a juſt length; it was ſubſcribed by their three names: *Johannes Polyander*, *Antonius Thyſius*, *Anthonius Wallaus*, and a little beneath, that it was thus written, *Ego Sibrandus Lubertus hoc collegarum meorum judicium perlegi, et per omnia probo*; *Gomarus* his name was not at it; but he preſently roſe and teſtified *viva voce*, that he had read it, and did in all things approve the judgement of his Colleagues, excepting only that part of it, which did determine *heminem lapſum* to be the object of Predeſtination, which he ſaid had not as yet been determined in the Belgick Churches, in the French nor Engliſh Churches, and many others. Next was read the judgement of D. *Sibrandus* upon the ſame article, which differed nothing from that former of his Colleagues, but that it was longer, it was ſubſcribed with his own name, and a little beneath the former three profeſſors by their ſubſcriptions teſtified, that they had read it, and did approve it. *Gomarus* ſtood up, and *viva voce* gave this ſame teſtimony to this judgement which he had given to the former, making the ſame exception. Next was *Gomarus* his judgement read upon the ſame Article; he ſaid nothing of that queſtion of the object of predeſtination, whether it was *homo lapſus* or not, which ſilence in that point being excepted,

his

his judgement in all points agreed with the former judgements of his Colleagues, it was only subscribed with his own name; but D. *Polyander* did *viva voce* testifie in the name of himself and his Colleagues, that they did approve all things in *Gomarus* his judgement, excepting only that opinion of the object, the contrary whereof they professed themselves to hold: the President instructed us concerning some particulars of the business of *Camps*, and desired us against three of the clock in the afternoon to consult about it; the particulars whereof your L. shall see in the next Session.

Sessio 109. *eodem die post meridiem.*] The President told us first, that the time of fourteen days granted to the two suspended Ministers of *Camps* for their comparence was now passed, and so that they contemned this favourable respite granted by the Synod, & persisted in their contumacy. Next that the other two Ministers of *Camps*, who were here among the cited Remonstrants had been appointed by the Synod to give in within 14. dayes an answer to the accusations layed against them by the deputies of the Reformed Church of *Camps*; the copy of which accusations at their own earnest request had been delivered to them by one of the servants of the Synod, but that now in place of their answer which was expected, they had sent to him a letter which was read unto the Synod; it had two great faults, it was exceeding long, and exceeding foolish; to this sense or rather none-sense, they did shew that they could not at the day appointed give in their answer to the accusations; and why they could no more go on in this Synodical action which was commenced against them; for many causes, such as were, first, because they were wholly taken up in making ready some writings for the Synod concerning the five Articles, which were imposed on them by the commandement of the *Delegats*. 2. Because the copy of the accusations brought unto them by one of the Synod officers, was not subscribed by the President, nor by either of the Scribes of the Synod; and therefore they thought it not an authentick copy or of any credit. 3. Because crimes in it were objected to them both promiscuously, and that laid to both their charge, which only one of them had delivered; and therefore their accusation was not exact according to form of law. 4. That there were many things in it objected to them, not warranted by any witness, unless it were by some proofs taken out of their Colleague *Foskculius* late book, which they christened with the name of *stultum* and *tenebricosum scriptum*. 5. Because it was full of false spellings and writing, and therefore they thought it was but negligently slubbered over; for these and many more such causes as idle as these, (with which I hold it not fit to detain your L.) though they might decline the judgement of the Synod, especially since against the practise of the Belgick Church, their own consistory, Classis, and Provincial Synod being skipped over, they were immediately accused before the Synod; yet notwithstanding after they had done with all they had to say upon the five Articles, they promise that they will give in

their

their anſwer to this bill of accuſations; but upon this condition, (which I beſeech your L. to obſerve,) that firſt the Synod would declare them to be free from theſe falſe and malitious ſlanders, wherewith they & the reſt of their brethren Remonſtrants cited to the Synod, had been moſt injuriouſly and falſely charged in that Seſſion of the Synod, in which they were diſmiſſed by the Preſident, with this *elogium*, to wit, that they had refuſed to go on in the Synodical action; that they had ſhowen themſelves unworthy with whom the Synod ſhould have any further dealing; and that as they had begun this buſineſs and continued it with lying and equivocations, ſo now they had ended it. But yet that notwithſtanding of all this they were contented to go on in this action before the Colledge of the *Delegats* of the Eſtates General, but not before the Synod. Theſe long letters being read, next was read an anſwer to theſe letters penned by the deputies of the reformed Church of *Camps*; to whom the Preſident had given theſe letters that they might anſwer them, they did meet particularly with every thing alledged in the other letters, which was needleſs; and therefore I omit all their anſwers, ſave only to that one thing which ſeemed to require one, that was, that againſt the cuſtome of their Church they were immediately brought before the Synod, to which it was anſwered, that both the conſiſtory and *Claſſis* of *Camps* were altogether Remonſtrantical, and that therefore they were both of them ſuch as ought rather to be abrogated then appealed unto; but for their Provincial Synod, they wondered with what face they durſt affirm they had not been cited thither, ſince that Synod had dealt with them oftner then once, though to no purpoſe. Next was read a ſupplication penned and ſubſcribed by *Acronius* in name of the Reformed Church of *Camps*, in which they relate how *Foskulius* one of the two ſuſpended at *Camps*, while he was rehearſing unto his flock the ſentence of his own ſuſpenſion, that he had ſtirred up the people *ad tumultuariam infamam*: next they humbly beſeech the Synod, that now for the two ſuſpended, their ſentence of ſuſpenſion might be ratified by the Synod, and for the other two here preſent at Dort, to wit, *Mathiſius* and *Goſuinus*, ſince they had refuſed to give in their anſwer at the time appointed, that the Synod would pronounce the like ſentence of ſuſpenſion againſt them: the Preſident propounded this to the Synod, whether they thought it fit that the ſentence already given againſt the former two ſhould be ratified, and that the other two ſhould be cited to give in their anſwer to the bill of accuſations within fourteen days, in which if they failed, the like ſentence of ſuſpenſion ſhould be given againſt them, which had been given againſt their Colleagues; the whole Synod approved it, and ſo it was decreed.

We beginning to go on in reading the Collegial judgements; but my L. of *Landaffe* (according as we at home had deliberated among our ſelves) deſired leave to ſpeak, which being granted he ſpake to this purpoſe. D *Gomarus* in the forenoon delivered, that this queſtion, whether *homo lapſus* be

ſubjectum,

ſubjectum Prædeſtinationis, had not been determined by the confeſſion of the Church of *France*; and as I and my Colleagues conceived he delivered the like for the confeſſion of the Church of *England*; and therefore I do entreat D. *Gomarus* in my own name, and the name of my Colleagues to declare before the Synod, whether he did ſay ſo or not. D. *Gomarus* with good modeſty anſwered that indeed he did ſay ſo, but he proteſted it was not out of any evil meaning, but only to ſhew that as other Churches, ſo the Church of *England* had left that undetermined, ſince the words of the confeſſion determined no farther of the ſubject, then (*quoſdam ex humano genere*) my Lord of *Landaffe* replied, that he himſelf and the reſt of his Colleagues could not chuſe but think themſelves by that ſpeech touched for temerity or ignorance; for ſince they in their judgement had delivered the contrary for *homo lapſus*, it was as much to ſay as that they had delivered that in the Synod, which was not according to the judgement of the Church of *England*, but to let the Synod know that they had ſaid nothing in their judgement, which was not the judgement of their Church, they deſired the Synod to hear the words of their confeſſion; ſo D. *Goad* read publickly the 17. Article of the confeſſion, where the words are *quoſdam ex humano genere, in exitio et maledicto*, which laſt words *Gomarus* had left out: *Gomarus* anſwered, that if he had underſtood the words of the confeſſion amiſs, he would ſubmit himſelf to the judgement of the Synod. The Preſident told *Gomarus* roundly enough, that it was free for every member of the Synod to deliver his own judgement concerning any point or queſtion; but that men ought to be very careful that they do not raſhly meddle with the judgements of other Churches. My L. of *Landaffe* deſired further leave to adde this. Since all the forraign Divines, without exception, and likewiſe all the Belgick profeſſors except *Gomarus*, had already delivered their judgements for *homo lapſus*, and that he doubted not but the Provincials would determine the ſame; it were very fit that the Synod ſhould likewiſe determine ſo of it; neither was it any reaſon that for the particular opinion of one profeſſor, who in this did diſſent from the judgement of all the reformed Churches, the Synod ſhould abſtain from determination of the queſtion. *Gomarus* anſwered, that the Univerſity of *Leyden* had never yet determined for *homo lapſus*, and that both D. *Whitakers*, and Mr. *Perkins* had determined the contrary, whom he took to be ſuch men as would not diſſent from the confeſſion of the Church of *England*: that the matter ought firſt to be diſcuſſed with arguments on both ſides, before any thing ſhould be determined on either ſide; to whom the Preſident returned this anſwer, that after the judgements of all the Colledges were read, the Synod would decree of that queſtion what they ſhall think beſt; after the Canon is conceived it ſhall be read, if then you can ſhew that any thing contained in that Canon is againſt the word of God. The Synod ſhall with all dutiful patience here what you can ſay.

There

There were read the judgements of the *Geldri*; the South-*Hollandi*, (who in their judgement wiſhed that the queſtion of *homo lapſus* might be left undetermined) the North-*Hollandi*, the *Zelandi*, who were all not long; and agreed in all things with the former judgements delivered, and ſo this long Seſſion ended.

Seſſio 110. 12. *Martii.*] There were read the Collegiat judgements of the *Ultrajectini*, the *Friſia*, the *Tranſiſulani*, the *Groninganii et Omlandii*, all which foure were of a good length, and in all things conſonant to the former judgements.

Seſſio 111. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] There were read the Collegial judgements of the *Drentani*, and *Gallobelgici*, which were brief, and agreeable to the former judgements, and ſo was ended the reading of the judgements of all Colledges; in which (God be praiſed for it) there was not the leaſt ſuſpition of of diſſention of any thing, and it is to be noted that all of them determined *homo lapſus* to be the ſubject of Predeſtination; except *Gomarus* whom all men know to be againſt it; and the South-*Hollandi*, who only ſaid they would determine nothing of it.

There was read the judgement of the Divines of Great *Brittain* upon the ſecond Article; they were brieſer then upon the firſt Article, they left the received diſtinction of *ſufficientia* and *efficacia mortis Chriſti* untouched; as likewiſe they did not touch that received reſtriction of thoſe places which make Chriſts ſuffering general to the world, only *ad mundum Electorum*. There were read the judgements of the *Palatines*, of the *Haſſians*, of the *Helvetians*, who all did maintain the received diſtinction, to wit, that Chriſt his death was only ſufficient for all men, not efficient or impetrative, and did reſtrain all the general propoſitions which are in Scripture to that purpoſe only *ad mundum Electorum*, concluding that Chriſt was no wayes *expiatio pro peccatis ſingulorum*.

Seſſio 112. 13. *Martii.*] There was read publickly the judgement of the *Naſſovici*, after them the judgement of the *Genevenſes*, both of which defended the received diſtinction and reſtriction; after were read the judgements of the *Bremenſes*, who according to the number of their perſons had three ſeveral judgements. *Martinius* his judgement was firſt read, who did ſtand in effect to the tenents of the Remonſtrants in the ſecond Article, he mainly overthrew the received diſtinction and reſtriction, and did determine that Chriſt did truly die for all and every man, that he was made a propitiation both for the godly and wicked, and that by his death he did impetrate reconciliation with God for them all, at the latter end he condemned many things both in the Remonſtrants, and in the *Contra*-Remonſtrants opinion, but more in the *Contra*-Remonſt. next D. *Iſſelburgius* the ſecond *Bremenſis* his judgement was read, who was directly againſt *Martinius* defending both the received diſtinction and reſtriction. Thirdly, was read the judgement

of D. *Crocius* the third *Bremenſis*, who propounded a middle way between his two Colleagues; granting (which we alſo in our Colledge did) that Chriſt did merit by his death ſome ſupernatural things for the wicked; as the word preached, and all ſuch good graces as are common both to the godly and wicked, but nothing belonging to remiſſion of ſin or reconciliation with God, and ſo indeed for any thing I could perceive his judgement was directly againſt that of *Martinius*, and in effect all one with that of *Iſſelburgius*. Next was read the judgement of the *Embdani*, who were exceeding long, and agreed in all things with the *Contra*-Remonſtrants, as they do expreſs themſelves in the *Collat. Hagienſis*.

Seſſio 113. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] D. *Iſſelburgius* one of the *Bremenſes*, at the Preſident his appointment publickly all auditors being admitted, did at very great length prove that God his vindicative juſtice is natural and neceſſary unto him, and that therefore that ſatisfaction which Chriſt made for the ſins of the world was *ſimpliciter neceſſaria*, proving withal by many arguments the fulneſs and ſufficiency of Chriſt his ſatisfaction; anſwering the arguments of *Socinus* and *Vorſtius* againſt both the former concluſions.

Seſſio 114. 14. *die Martii.*] There was read the judgement of foure of the Belgick Profeſſors, ſubſcribed by *Polyander*, *Gomarus*, *Thyſius*, *Walleus*, and a little beneath was written *Ego Sibrandus Lubertus hoc Collegarum meorum judicium per omnia probo*: next was read *Sibrandus* his judgement who differed nothing from his colleagues, ſave that he was ſhorter, it was ſubſcribed firſt by himſelf, and then approved by the ſubſcriptions of the reſt of his colleagues; all five of them did ſtand mainly for the above named diſtinction & reſtriction. Next was read the judgement of the *Gelдri*, who were too too rigid in many things, next them the judgement of the South-*Hollandi*; next them the judgement of the North-*Hollandi*, who had many things which we thought not only to be rigid but falſe, all theſe three Colledges at great length diſputed for the received diſtinction and reſtriction.

Seſſio 115. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] There were read the judgemenes firſt of the *Zelandi*, next of the *Ultrajectini*, next of the *Friſii*, next of the *Tranſſulani*, next of the *Groninganii* and *Omlandii*: all of them ſtood for the ſame diſtinction and reſtriction.

Seſſio 116. 15. *die Martii.*] There were read the judgements firſt of the *Drentani*, who delivered many falſe and abſurd propoſitions; next of the *Gallobelgici*, who were moderate enough, both of them did maintain the former diſtinction and reſtriction; and ſo was ended the reading of all Collegial judgements upon the ſecond Article, in which their was not altogether ſo uniform a conſent both in regard of phraſes and forms of ſpeaking; and in regard of ſome propoſitions, as was in the firſt Article: yet certainly there was very great, more then could well have been expected from ſo great a number of learned men in ſo hard and an controverted Article.

Then

There was read the judgement of our Colledge upon the third and fourth Article, which was moſt juſt and equal, condemning the rigidity of ſome of the *contra*-Remonſtrants opinion, though not by that name, as well as the errors of the Pelagians, Semipelagians, and Remonſtrants.

There was read the judgement of the *Palatines*, who in all things agreed with the judgement of the *contra*-Remonſtrants, as it is ſet down in *Collatio Hagienſis*.

Seſſio 117. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] There were read the judgements of the *Haſſiaci*, the *Helvetians*, the *Naſſovici*, who agreed in all points with the *contra*-Remonſtrants of the *Genevenſes*, who carried a very even hand in this Article, their *Theſes*, as before, were confirmed only by places of Scripture, but finely digeſted; of the *Bremenſes* who handled the head *de gratia et libero arbitrio* in general, and in particular overthrew reſiſtibility of Grace. Of the *Embdani*, whoſe judgement after an houres reading was not neer half done, and therefore we were glad to make an interceſſion of their diſcourſe of Grace till the morrow.

Seſſio 118. 16. *Martii.*] We went on in reading the judgement of the *Embdani*, which yet continued above an houre and an half; they diſcuſſed 34. queſtions, and to ſpeak truth they were long above the ſtrength of patience. There was read the judgement of the foure Belgick Profeſſors ſubſcribed by themſelves, and afterwards approved by the ſubſcription of *Sibrandus*; next was read the judgement of *Sibrandus* ſubſcribed by himſelf, and approved by the ſubſcriptions of his Colleagues; next was read the judgement of the *Geldri*.

So my very good Lord, here is the ſumme of all hath paſſed this week; I hope your L. hath received the letters I ſent theſe laſt two weeks, what followeth I ſhall not fail to advertiſe your L. So with the remembrance of my moſt obſervant duty to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and reſt.

Dordrecht this 16. of *March*, *Novo Stylo*, 1619.

Your L. in all true reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

AFter I had written theſe yeſternight, I received your L. letters, for which I ſtand much obleiged to your L. I had before them received very particularly news from *England*; but eſpecially of the Star-Chamber ſentence from a gentleman of good worth, who was preſent; many memorable ſentences his Majeſty delivered, ſuch as were theſe, he ſaid this ſin was like the firſt ſin committed in the world, that my Lady *Lake* was the Serpent, my

Lady *Roſſeas Eve*, and Sir *Thomas Lake* the *man*: he deſired the noble men to take heed of their wives, for he had now known five of his counſel who had been overthrown by their wives, and eſpecially bid ſuch look to themſeves, who had Popiſh wives; if for no other thing, yet for this, that a Whore and a Papiſt were *termini convertibiles*. Moreover ſpeaking publickly of the Navie, he gave in the Star-Chamber three reaſons why he had made my L. of *Buckingham* Admiral; one was becauſe the other was exceeding old; ſecond, becauſe this was young and fit for ſervice; third, becauſe of his love to this, and his being neer about him. I am ſure your L. hath the Kings meditation upon the Lords Prayer dedicated to my L. of *Buckingham*, elſe I would have ſent your L. one. Yeſternight there landed here one Engliſh Gentleman of good worth, who aſſureth us that on Tuſeday laſt the Queen died; and it may be true, for I had a letter written the firſt of *March*, aſſuring me that my L. of *Camerbury* was ſent for in haſte to *Hampton-Court*, as was thought, to ſee her die. I hear likewiſe, but cannot believe it that Mr. Dean of *Worceſter* cometh this journey over with my L. *Hayes* in his Embaſſage to the Emperour.

Now for your L. directions in our Synod buſineſs, our thanks is but a ſmall recompenſe, your L. may juſtly look for your reward in heaven; I pray God ſend us out of the ſecond Article well, and I ſhall be perſwaded of Harmony in all the reſt: for in good faith ſome of the Provincials eſpecially the *Geldri*, and the North-*Hollandi*; who are of all in the Synod, greateſt in the Preſident his books, have delivered ſuch propoſitions in that Article, as I dare ſay never any Divine in the world dreamed of but themſelves, for mine own part, *I had rather looſe mine hand, then ſubſcribe them.* For that your L. adviſeth from the King about the Palatines, it is a thing abſolutely neceſſary, for they are the only *Magiſtrales Doctores next to Gomarus in all the Synod*, and think every thing they ſpeak ſhould be taken for text: in good faith in their judgement upon the ſecond Article, they did gird moſt bitterly at ſome things which D. *Ward* had delivered in the Synod of that ſame Article, with which D. *Ward* is very much moved. Our judgement in the ſecond Article is already read in the Synod, ſo we muſt ſtudy to frame our ſelves to our directions from *England*, in making of the Canons, my L. his *Grace* his letter is to have us conform our ſelves to the received diſtinction and reſtriction, with which his grace acquainted his Majeſty and received approbation from him: but I muſt needs ſay, *that the directions which your L. hath ſent from Secretary Nanton, do ſeem to will us to be as favourable to the general propoſitions as may be, giving as little offence to the Lutherans as we can*, which counſel in my poor judgement we have in our *Theſes* already followed.

Frequent admonitions and exhortations rather from your L. or by your L. means procured to the Preſident, for prudence and warineſs, and keeping the bond of peace may hinder much indiſcretion in this Synod, in which as I hope

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your L. will not be wanting; ſo by Gods grace I ſhall not be wanting to give your L. all convenient information, nor be wanting in my prayers to the God of peace that your L. may ſtill go on in procuring the peace of our aſſembly. So once again with the remembrance of my moſt ſincere duty I reſt.

This Sunday morning
17. *March.*

Your L. faithful and reſpectful
ſervant, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

SInce my laſt unto your L. there have been but three Seſſions: no matter of moment hath been done in them, and therefore I will defer the relation of them to my next letters: only I thought good to let your L. know that yeſterday after the forenoon *Seſſion*, the Preſident called me into his lodging, and told me he would ſhow me a miracle, which in truth he did; for there he ſhowed me a volume which the Remonſtrants that morning had given in to the *Delegats* upon the 3. 4. and 5. Articles; I was I confeſſe aſtoniſhed when I looked on it; for I could not with mine one hand lift it from the table, it is above twice as much as all they have given in yet; in good faith my Lord I think it is fully as big as one of our Church great Bibles; which I would have your L. think I ſpeak without any figure, trope, or Rhetorical lie, for it is ſo big, I told the Preſident, that it was a thing impoſſible the Synod could take notice of the contents of that volume under ſix moneths, he anſwered me that for my comfort he would ſhow me two lines in the Preface, which would rid me of that fear, and ſo he did; for in theſe lines they doe proteſt that they do not offer this volume to the Synod, for they profeſs that they have nothing, nor will have nothing to do with the Synod, Since the Synod hath refuſed to have any doings with their living perſons, but only their dead books, and therefore they do only offer this book to the *Delegats*, but will not have it thought by any man that they offer it to the Synod: *Heinſius* dyned with us yeſterday, and I asked him when they had given in this book, he told me that morning, but with ſuch impudence as is almoſt incredible; for when one of the *Delegats* told them that he wondered why they would give in ſo much paper as was impoſſible it ſhould ever be read in the Synod, *Epiſcopius* anſwered they had nothing to do with the Synod, they offered it only to them who were the *Delegats*; the former *Delegat* replied, that the *Delegats* were not to judge of their opinions, but the Synod; and that in their letters citatorie they were warned to come and give an account to the Synod of the doctrine which they had delivered in their Schools and Pulpits; *Epiſcopius*, moſt impudently anſwered thus briefly: we here delivered to you the *Delegats* this book and to none elſe, if you be pleaſed to take it

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from us, we will leave it with you, if not, we pray you give it us again, and we will keep it; one of the *Delegats* commanded *Heinſius* to write down that their peremptory and ſaucy anſwer, *Epiſcopius* very bravely told *Heinſius* that they would ſave him that labour, for they had ſet down the ſame words already in their Preface, and pointed out to him the place where he might finde them: ſo that my L. they were never ſince the beginning of the Synod ſo luſty as now, ſo as none can chuſe but think that they yet have ſome ſecret and ſure hopes. I forget to tell your L. that the Preſident told me he had been glancing at this volume, and he findes it to be in many parts a confutation of the ſeveral diſcourſes which have been had publickly in the Synod upon the five Articles. There is ſome talk here about the citation of *Vorſtius*, and *Feſtus Hommius* yeſternight told me he had ſome talk with your L. about it. If he be cited your L. credit with the Prince of *Orange*, and count *William* muſt help us for diſcretion in dealing with him, elſe he will keep the Synod as long as the Remonſtrants did; your L. I hope will give counſel to them, that if *Vorſtius* ſhould deſire to have time to give in apologies and explications, for the hard ſpeeches in his book *De Deo*; and ſhould deſire to be convinced with Reaſon, and ſatisfaction of his arguments; all which would take up a long time, that the Synod would talk of no ſuch matter with him, but in plain terms tell him that all the members of the Synod had read his book, and found many things in it very neer unto open blaſphemy, and ſcandalous without all queſtion to the reformed religion; that explications of things which are not once to be called in queſtion, is no ſatisfaction; and they therefore only deſire to know whether he will make a plain recantation and denial of it, and publickly ask God forgiveneſs for it, and his Church likewiſe there aſſembled, whom by that book he hath ſcandilized; if he do this we gain him; if not, then without any more ado, let the Synod cenſure him as they ſhall think fit; I wiſh that to the terror of others he might ſolemnly be excommunicated in the Synod; in this and all other buſineſſes we do and muſt relie upon your L. care, for the handſome carriage of them; which as your L. hath hithertil done, ſo that your L. may ſtill continue to the good of Gods Church, and your own immortal credit, it is no ſmall part of the prayers of

Dordrecht this 20. of *March. Stylo Novo.*

Your L. humble and faithfull ſervant, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

THis week hath been a very barren one for news, for we have been taken up wholly with hearing, yet ſuch Seſſions as we had your L. ſhall here have a note of them.

Seſſio

Seſsio 119. 18. *Martii. ſtylo novo.*] There were read Letters from the Marques of *Brandeburgh* in Dutch containing (as the Preſident told us) an excuſe why he deputed none to the Synod, the Preſident told us they ſhould be turned into Latine, and after read again unto the whole Synod, there were read the judgements of the South-*Hollandi*, the North-*Hollandi*, the *Zelandi*, the *Ultrajectini* upon the third and fourth Articles.

Seſsio 120. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] The were read upon the ſame Articles the judgments of the *Friſii*, the *Tranſiſulani*, the *Groninganii*, & *Omlandii*, the *Gallobelgici*, the *Drentani*; And ſo was ended the reading of all the Collegial judgements, upon the third and fourth Articles, in which there was wonderful great conſent, both in the things themſelves, as likewiſe in the phraſes and forms of ſpeaking.

Seſsio 121. 19 *March.*] There were read the judgement of our Colledge upon the fifth Article; Which was far longer then any which we gave in before; At the end of it we annexed an adhortation to the *Delegates*, for the defence in their Provinces of the Doctrine recived in the Reformed Churches; Likewiſe an Exhortation to all the Members of the Synod for avoiding harſhneſs and rigidity, and embracing of all moderation in making the Cannons, eſpecially upon the ſecond Article; as likewiſe an admonition to the Provincials, for great warineſs and diſcretion, in propounding to the common People the Doctrine of Predeſtination, and eſpecially Reprobation; theſe things we told his Majeſty, defired us to obſerve, and ſo with a Prayer we wiſht both we and all the Synod might be careful in the obſerving of them; There was read the judgement of the *Palatines*, at the end whereof they annexed an Epilogue much to the ſame purpoſe with ours; In all the judgements that were read upon this Article, it is to be obſerved that every Colledge concluded with ſuch an Epilogue and a Prayer.

Seſsio 122. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] There were read the judgements of the *Haſsiaci*, of the *Helvetici*, of the *Niſſovici*, of the *Genevenſes*, who uſed, as in their former judgements, no confirmations, beſides plain citations of places of Scripture of the *Bremenſes*.

Seſsio 123. 20. *March.*] There were read the judgement of the *Embdani* who were exceeding long, of the four *Profeſſores Belgici*, which was ſubſcribed as with their own hands, ſo a little beneath with the hand of *Sibrandus*; next the judgement of *Sibrandus*, ſubſcribed likewiſe by the other four Profeſſors, there were read likewiſe the judgement of the *Geldri*, of the South-*Hollandi*, all theſe except the *Embdani* were exceeding ſhort.

Seſsio 124. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] D. *Crocius* one of the *Bremenſes* appointed by the Preſident; publickly, all Auditors being admitted, did diſcuſs at great length theſe two queſtions; Firſt, *An fides juſtificans per Dei accepti* [illegible] *imputetur à Deo pro omni illa legis juſtitia quam nos præſtare tenebamur*; The ſecond, *An ipſa fides ſeu* To *credere id eſt actus credendi imputetur homini à*

Deo,

Deo ad juſtitiam; he held the Negative of both againſt *Socinus*, the Remonſtrants, but namely *Bertius*.

Seſsio 125. 21. *Martii.*] There were read the judgements of the North-*Hollandi*, the *Zelandi*, the *Ultrajectini*, the *Friſii*.

Seſsio 126. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] There were read the judgements of the *Tranſiſulani*, the *Groninganii* and *Omlandis*, the *Drentani*, the *Gallobelgici*, And ſo was happily ended the reading of all the Collegial judgements upon the five Articles, in which, praiſed be God for it, there was ſeen an incredible harmony, far greater then almoſt could be hoped for in ſo great an Aſſembly of ſo many learned men. The Preſident told us that the Eſtates General between this and *Eaſter* did expect that the Cannons ſhould be made, and therefore did deſire that againſt the morrow at ten of the Clock every Colledge would depute one, who might meet about the conceaving of the Canons, that one ſhould relate to the reſt of their Colledge, what Articles they agreed upon, and accordingly conſult with them to know what they would have added, paired, or changed, ſo after theſe deputed & had agreed, the Cannons ſhould be publickly read and approved.

This is all, but that I think our Preſident hath need of your L. good counſel, for the carrying himſelf in making the Cannons; I finde every man murmuring already that he would make them, and doth but onely dictate them to the reſt. With the remembrance of my beſt ſervice to your L. and my Lady, I take my leave and am,

Dordrecht this 23. of March, *New ſtile.*

Your L. in all true reſpects and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

WHat ſtir we have had about the making of our Cannons your L. ſhall underſtand by letters from our whole Colledge: if we had not written a common Letter, and then your L. ſhould have taken ſome particular notice of the contents of mine, the reſt of my Colleagues muſt needs have ſuſpected that your L. had had intelligence from me; And therefore I did preſently deal with my Lord and the reſt of our Society, that they would write a common Letter to your L. concerning the particular paſſages of this troubleſome buſineſs, Theſe three things I may ſay in it; Firſt, that the Preſident would take upon him more then ever any Preſident did, to make Cannons and paſs them by *placet* or *non placet*, and then he hath ſo many of the Provincialls at command to paſs what he will, I cannot I confeſs yet ſee how it can conſiſt with the dignity of any, much more of ſome of the Members of the Synod, that the Preſident ſhould dictate Cannons and the reſt eſpecially a Biſhop write after

after him; ſo that he maketh the Canons, and the whole Synod are called *non ad conſilium ſed tantum conſenſum*. Next I think my L. that if the Synod had wanted but two men which are of it, we had wanted a great deal of contention, which I perceive will not forſake the Synod ſo long as they are in it; I mean *Sibrandus* and *Gomarus*; they keep their fits of madneſs by courſe; the laſt fit before this came to *Gomarus* his turn, and this day *Sibrandus* flew out, but with ſuch Raving and fierceneſs of countenance, ſuch unheard *bitternes againſt our Colledge*; as I deſire no other revenge on him then the very ſpeaking of the words, which while they were in his mouth, were checked by both Preſidents Politick and Eccleſiaſtical; D. *Davenant* who is a very moderate man, would have anſwered him much againſt my will, and no man could blame him, for *Sibrandus* his words againſt our Colledge, if they had come from a wiſe man his lips, had been above the ſtrength of patience, I was glad the Preſident gave not way to D. *Davenant* ſpeech, which notwithſtanding, I am ſure would have been full of diſcretion; and for *Sibrandus* I blame him and *Gomarus* no more for theſe extaſies, then I do a ſtone for going downward, ſince it is both their natural conſtitution. Thirdly, if your L. care do not now moſt of all ſhow it ſelf for procuring of good counſel to be ſent hither for the conſtitution of the Canons, we are are like to make the Synod a thing to be laughed at in after ages. The Preſident and his provincials have no care of the credit of ſtrangers, nor of that account which we muſt yield at our return unto all men that ſhall be pleaſed to call for it; their Canons they would have them ſo full charged with catechetical ſpeculations, as they will be ready to burſt, and I perceive it plainly, that there is never a *contra*-Remonſtrant miniſter in the Synod, that hath delivered any doctrine which hath been excepted againſt by the Remonſtrants, but they would have it in by head and ſhoulders in ſome Canon, that ſo they might have ſomething to ſhow for that which they have ſaid: God his goodneſs toward his Church, and your L. vigilant conſtancy in perfecting this good courſe, which you were ſo careful to procure, I hope will teach us to overcome all theſe difficulties.

In my laſt letter I wrote as I ſuſpect, that the *Palatines* inveighed againſt ſome things delivered by Dr. *Ward* in the 3. and 4. Articles; if I had ſo, I was miſtaken, I ſhould have ſaid the ſecond Article. We ſhall have no more *Seſſions* till all be agreed upon in private Colledges; and therefore I thought to have come over to have done my duty to your L. this Eaſter, but I underſtand by a letter from Sir *Thomas Jermyn* that my L. *Hayes* had warning to make himſelf ready for his Ambaſſage againſt the 10. of *March*; I think he will come by the Hague, if I underſtand of his coming I muſt likewiſe do my duty to him, and I can hardly make two journies; and ſo with my humbleſt ſervice for your L. kinde invitation, and for all the reſt of your L. moſt undeſerved favours to a ſtranger, which ſince my fortune is not likely ever to give me leave to requite, I muſt take leave to acknowledge, and with my

beſt prayers for your L. and my Ladies happineſs, I take my leave and am as I ever ſhall be,

Dordrecht this 25. of *March.*

Your L. in all true reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord.

ALL my anſwer to your L. arguments is my acknowledgement of your L. extraordinary courteſie in your kinde invitations. I could not be ſo fitted in my mourning apparel as I would before Saturday at night: beſides we muſt now narrowly look to the Canons which are ſent to us by the Deputies of the Synod; for we are required upon Tuſeday next to give in our obſervations upon them; my L. of *Landaffe* being one of the Deputies, hath already delivered his opinion of them; and therefore his L. may here be ſpared till Wedneſday next, the reſt of us have not, and it being the main buſineſs of our coming hither, we muſt plie it ſo as it may be done to ſome good purpoſe. My L. of *Landaffe* his comming to your L. telleth me that the writing of any occurrences here are needleſs; ſo with the continuance of my beſt wiſhes for your L. health and happineſs, I take my leave; and ſhall ever account it a great part of my temporal happineſs, if your L. ſhall be pleaſed to account me as I am:

Dordrecht this 29. of *March, Stylo loci.*

Your L. in all dutiful reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

My very Good Lord,

THis place is yet ſtill barren of news, but I make no queſtion but my next letters ſhall ſend your L. ſome. The Deputies appointed by the Synod have taken pains I muſt needs confeſs to give our Colledge all ſatisfaction; beſides the ſecond Article, ſome of our Colledge have been earneſt to have this propoſition out. (*Infideles damnabuntur non ſolum ob infidelitatem, ſed etiam ob omnia alia peccata ſua tam originale quam actualia.*) Becauſe they ſay that from thence may be inferred that original ſin is not remitted to all who are baptized, which opinion hath been by more then one councel condemned as heretical: they have therefore at their requeſt put it out; ſo I know now of no matter of diſagreement among us worthy the ſpeaking of: the morrow there is a Synod, one way or other we ſhall determine what ſhall become of the Canons, what we do your L. by Gods grace with the firſt occaſion

ſion ſhall underſtand. I have here ſent your L. my ſpeech made in the Synod; I know your L. experience will pardon the imperfections of a diſcourſe delivered upon leſs then two days warning. Now my Lord, to write a Hiſtory of Dr. *Goad* his journey and mine own, between *Roterdam* and *Dort* that night, on which we came from your L. would move too much pity, eſpecially if you ſhould make relation of the ſame to my Lady: the compend of it is this; that a little after five a clock in the afternoon we took ſhip at *Roterdam*, and about a little after one of the clock in the night we arrived at *Dort*, but could get no entrance; and therefore until half an houre paſt five in the morning, we ſometime lay in the ſhip, ſometime walked on the Bulwark: if we were not ſufficiently aſſaulted with cold and watching we know our ſelves. Mr. *Downs* his wooing in Greek was never ſo cold as we were that night: Letters I have received from *England*: the ſumme of the news are, that the Spaniſh Navie is diſſipated, and that it never exceeded 60. ſayles. The King of *Spain* hath written large letters with his own hand to our King; in which he proteſteth, that he never intended any thing againſt *England* nor any Chriſtian Kingdom. The talk of the Spaniſh match hath of late been very freſh again in *England*, but this is certain that the other day at *Theobalds* the King asking a gentleman of good note what the people talked of the Spaniſh Navie, received of him this anſwer: Sir *the people is nothing ſo much affraid of the Spaniards powder as of their match*. My Lord I can but thank your L. for all your courteſies, eſpecially your L. great kindeneſs at my laſt being with you, which ſince my fortune will not give me leave to requite, I muſt take leave to acknowledge. With the remembrance of my beſt duty and ſervice to your L. and your worthy Lady, and my faithful wiſhes for both your happineſs, I take my leave, hoping your L. will believe that there liveth no man of whom you may more freely diſpoſe, then of

Dort this $\frac{4}{14}$ of *April*.

Your L. moſt faithful and reſpectful in all true ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual*.

My very Good Lord,

DOctor *Davenant* his coming to your L. ſaveth me the writing of any news here: for he will perfectly relate them to your L. we are full of trouble about things altogether unneceſſary, they are ſo eager to *kill* the Remonſtrants, that they would *make their words have that ſenſe which no Grammar can finde in them*: upon Tuſeday in the afternoon we had a Seſſion, in which were read the Canons of the firſt and ſecond Article, and were approved, except the laſt of the ſecond Article, which we never heard of till *that houre*, and the ſecond heterodox in that ſame Article, what they were Dr.

Davenant will inform your L. *the laſt was ſuch as I think no man of underſtanding would ever aſſent unto.* On Thurſday morning we had another Seſſion, in which was nothing done, but that it was reaſoned whither that laſt heterodox ſhould be retained; our Colledge in that whole *Seſſion* maintained diſpute againſt the whole Synod; they condemned the thing it ſelf as a thing moſt curious, and yet would have it retained only to make the Remonſtrants odious, though they finde the very contrary of that they would father upon them in their words. That day in the afternoon was another Seſſion, in which were read the Canons of the 3. 4. and 5. Articles and were approved, the particular paſſages of theſe Seſſions I will ſend your L. by the next occaſion, they were no great matters in them, yet when I ſend your L. the next Seſſions in which it is like that ſomething will be done, I will ſend a note of them too: yeſterday there was no Seſſion, but the Deputies met for taking order about the Preface and Epilogue of the Canons, and mending thoſe things in the Canons which were thought fit to be amended, and have ſent them worſe then they were; in caſe we ſtand, and what need of counſel we have, this worthy Dr. will ſufficiently inform your L. My Lord, I have had a great deal of talk with Mr. *Douglas* about the controverſies in this Church, and finde him unqueſtionably ſound in them, alſo that there is no fear of his opinions, if otherwiſe he be found ſufficient: I much wonder that we do not hear of my L. of *Doncaſter*. There is here in the Synod a report of our King his mortal diſeaſe, it cometh from *Scultetus*, but I hope it is but the Goute; with the remembrance of my beſt duty and ſervice to your good L. and my Lady, I take my leave and reſt ever,

Dort this $\frac{2}{12}$ of *April*.

Your L. in all true reſpect and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual*.

My very Good Lord,

NOw at laſt we have made an end of our buſineſs of the five Articles; what trouble we have had in theſe laſt Seſſions none can conceive but thoſe who were preſent at them: and what ſtrange carriage hath been in them, eſpecially *on the Preſident his part it is too palpable*, he hath deceived all "mens hope of him very far. This matter of the perſonal cenſure which was "a thing of great conſequence, we were never made acquainted with before "*the very inſtant in which it came to be read*; and becauſe the *Delegats* muſt "not be ſtayed from their going to the Hage, therefore all the Synod muſt ſay "*Amen* to it; between the forenoon and the afternoon *Seſſion*, there was "ſtrange labouring with the *Exteri* for getting their conſent to it; yet we "medled not with it; all I can ſay is, me thinketh it is hard that every man

"ſhould

"ſhould be depoſed from his miniſtery, who will not hold every particular
"Canon; never did any Church of old, nor any reformed Church propoſe
"ſo many articles to be held *ſub pœna excommunicationis*; but had it not been
"then cruel, if all had gone for Canons which they would have had gone,
"v. g. *that of an abſolute neceſſity of ſimilitude of nature for working our redemp-*
"*tion.* None of us have the Canons yet, neither ſhall till the Eſtates have
"approved them: a note of ſuch Seſſions as have paſſed ſince my laſt notes
which your L. had I do now ſend your L. our Seſſions have been ſo long and
late as I had no time to write them: I was therefore bold to ſend them to
your L. as my ſcribe tranſcribed them out of my notes which I took in the Sy-
nod, hoping your L. will have regard of our perpetual buſineſs here: with
the remembrance of my beſt ſervice to your L. and my Lady, I take my leave,
remaining alwayes,

Dort this 25. of *April*, *Stylo loci.*

Your L. in all true reſpects and ſervice, *Walter Balcanqual.*

SEſſio 127. 26. *Martii Stylo novo.*] *Præſes* D. Delegatorum, oratione brevi monet Synodicos, D. Delegatis omnino videri futurum è re et dignitate Synodi, ſi domino præſidi, et D. aſſeſſoribus pauci aliquot à Synodo tum ex exteris tum ex provincialibus adjungantur, in quos authoritate publica, cura concipiendi, et concinnandi canones devolvatur; publicis ita gratiis ab ipſo nomine Delegatorum D. Præſidi Eccleſiaſtico actis ob gratiſſimum laborem hactenus in canonibus concipiendis ſuſceptum, eorundem nomine rogat, ut quam viam ingreſſus eſſet in primo, eandem quoque in reliquis articulis viam inſiſteret, rogat porro ut ſtatim aliquot nominet Synodus qui cum D. Præſidi in idem negotium incumbant; utque velint totum hoc negotium quam fieri poſſit citiſſime maturare; cum id præſertim ab ipſis D. ordines generales vehementer contendant: Rogantur de deputatis hiſce Synodicorum ſententiæ, in quibus ferendis fuit magna admodum varietas; multi volebant præſidem eodem quo cæperat pede pergere in canonibus Dictandis, inter Exteros iſthoc conſilium vehementius urgebat D. Scultetus, inter provinciales D. Sibrandus, ſed immodeſte et imprudenter ſatis, adverſus enim illos qui hoc conſilii ſuggeſſerant ſervide admodum declamabat ſeu potius exclamabat; dicebat enim quoſdam eſſe qui huc illuc curſitaverant ut alios in ſuas partes pertraherent; quos putabat omnino cenſura eccleſiaſtica notandos, neque hic debere Exteros nimium laborare, ut pote quibus non tam conſtaret de ratione Eccleſiarum Belgicarum, quam provincialibus, eo demum ferebatur, ut D. Præſes politicus, itidem et D. Præſes Eccleſiaſticus, cum graviter monerent, ſuaderentque ipſi majorem modeſtiam; D. Davenantius cum ſe et collegas ſuos hic ſugillari putaret; petiit à D. Præſidi ut liceret ſibi à ſe et ſuis calumnias iſtas depellere; verum rogatu D. Præſidis à reſponſa abſtinuit, cum vero depoſceretur South Hollandorum ſuffragium. D. Latius (is eſt qui hiſtoriam Pelagianorum ſcripſit) eo quod putaret ſe et collegas ſuos nomine curſitantium à Sibrando impetitos fuiſſe modeſte certe in ſuffragio ſuo D. Sibrandum perſtringebat; aiebat enim omnino ſibi videri è dignitate Synodi, ut Canones authoritate publica non privata conciperentur; poſſeque ſe facillime illi reſpondere qui hoc ſuum et collegarum conſilium perſtrinxerat, niſi charitate aliquid dandum eſſet, neque hic ſicut dicebatur conſilium conſilio opponi, inconſulte admodum hoc dictum eſſe, eumque non minus Eccleſiaſticam cenſuram mereri qui tam inconſulti loquutus ſit, quam illos qui authores fuerant conſilii iſtius de nominandis deputatis. Tandem poſt lata omnium ſuffragia potioribus ſententiis nominati ſunt inter Exteros, D. Epiſcopus Landavenſis, D. Scultetus, D. Deodatus, inter provinciales D. Polyander, D. Wallæus, D. Triglandius qui una cum

D. præſidi i

D. Præside et aſſeſſoribus canonibus concinnandis incumberent, quos concinnatos ad ſingula collegia mitti curarent, ſi quid forte additum, demptum, mutatum cupiant, deinde à collegiis remiſſos limarent manu ultima, ut ſic tandem toti Synodo propoſiti ad eadem approbenter.

Seſſio 128. 16. *Aprilis ſtylo novo poſt meridiem.*] D. *Præſes* narrat jam tandem poſt aliquot ſeptimanarum laborem aſſiduum, indulſiſſe Synodo Deum conſenſum illum ſuaviſſimum quem omnes tanto opere exoptaverant: moram monebat nemini debere eſſe gravem; ſed gratam potius, quia ut ut in fundamentalibus optime inter omnes et ſingulos (ſicut patebat in iudiciis) convenerat: ſperari tamen non poterat ſingulos in ipſis loquendi formulis conſpiraturos: monebat porro dictam fuiſſe hanc ſeſſionem, ut D. Delegati omnium et ſingulorum conſenſum obſervarent: Rogantur ſinguli Synodici, ut diligenter attendant lectioni articulorum, et moneant ſi quid forte mutatum velint, nec ægre ferant ſi mutetur fortaſſis verbulum aliquod aliter quam ſe habeat in exemplaribus quibus heri ſinguli ſubſcripſerant; eum in reipſa nihil plane ſit mutatum.

Leguntur itaque articuli Synodici, ſeu canones de 1. articulo contraverſo: ſinguli *Synodici* poſt ipſorum lectionem viritim rogati de conſenſu, ſinguli ſolenniter profitebantur ſe articulos Orthodoxiam complectentes probare ut pote conſentientes cum ſacra ſcriptura et confeſſionibus Reformatarum Eccleſiarum, articulos vero Heterodoxiam complectentes improbare ut ab iiſdem diſſentientes, Deo agebant ſinguli gratias de tam ſuavi conſenſu, votoque deum rogabant ut vellet parem ſemper harmoniam Eccleſiis ſuis Reformatis largiri: obſervandum autem eſt hic ſingulos ſignificaſſe, quod heri illis articulis ſubſcripſerant; exceptis ſolis Theologis Britannis qui ſubſcriptiones ſuas differebant, donec poſſet exemplar aliquod nitide deſcribi.

Leguntur articuli Synodici ſeu canones de ſecundo articulo contraverſo: in iis autem articulis prælectis, fuerant quædam verba mutata et aliter diſpoſita, quam fuerant in articulis quibus heri Synodici omnes exceptis Britannis ſubſcripſerant: Britanni eandem ſententiam quoad conſenſum de hiſce articulis quam de prioribus ferebant, niſi quod ſecundam Heterodoxiam putarent magis clare et perſpicue proponi poſſe, et ultimam Heterodoxam, quæ eſt de potentia dei, an potuerit alium reconciliationis modum quam per Chriſtum acceptaſſe, dicerent jam primum ipſos obſervaſſe, et videri ſibi eſſe eam magis ſcholaſticæ ſpeculationis, quam diſquiſitionis Synodicæ, itaque petebant deliberandi tempus: petebant porro ut quæ in illis articulis damnarentur pro Socinianiſmo, poſſent ipſis oſtendi ex Socino deprompta, rem ipſam damnabant, ſed an à *S*ocino profectum eſſet iſthoc dogma neſciebant, cum ſcriptorum Socinianorum non dum facta eſſet ipſis copia: Haſſiaci eundem teſtati ſunt conſenſum quem in priori articulo, niſi quod in articulo octavo orthodoxo vox illa (*Singulari*) non addita eſſet ad iſthæc verba (liberrimo conſilio) prout in obſervationibus ſuis ad canones de ſecundo articulo annotaverant, verum cum perſuaſum ſit illis omiſſionem iſtius vocabuli facere ad pacem Eccleſiarum Belgicarum, ſe acquieſcere, et ſemper expoſituros canonem illum ſecundum ſuum ſenſum id eſt quem poſſit habere verbo illo addito: verum ne fratres putarent ipſos in ſuis obſervationibus aliquid poſuiſſe quod in rei ipſius ſubſtantia aut fundamento à canone jam prælecto diſcreparet, paratos ſe eſſe qui cum fratribus, ſi modo id cupiant, obſervationes ſuas communicent: Helvetii teſtabantur conſenſum ſuum cum illis articulis quibus heri ſubſcripſerant; verum cum nunc videant aliqua verba immutata eſſe, rogant ut articulos relegant ut ſic ad conſcientiæ conſenſum poſſit quoque eorum conſenſus accedere: Bremenſes, conſenſum quoque ſuum teſtabantur, ſed addita eadem illa ad eundem articulum cautione quam adhibuerant fratres Haſſiaci, reliqui omnes Synodici plenum ſuum conſenſum ſicut in primo articulo teſtati ſunt, Annotarunt ſolum Goclenius, Sibrandus, Gomarus, et fortaſſis unus adhuc aut alter, quædam, ſed quæ plane Grammatica erant: aberant ex Synodicis pauci aliquot ſed quos præſes narrabat ſingulos articulos ſuis ſyngraphis comprobaſſe: propter publicum quod die craſtino celebrandum eſt jejunium, monet præſes non habendam eſſe Seſſionem ante diem jovis.

Seſſio 129. 18. *Aprilis. ſtylo novo.*] *Quæſtum* fuit fuſius de ultimo Heterodoxo canone in articulo ſecundo, qui rejicit eorum opinionem qui ſtatuunt ad ſufficientiam Pretii Redemptionis

nis noſtræ, non fuiſſe neceſſariam naturæ noſtræ ſimilitudinem in Chriſto: Quærebatur an deberet hic retineri tanquam error Remonſtrantium, an vero hic omitti, & numerari poſtea inter errores Vorſtianos: Theologi Britanni pluribus rem diſceptabant, contendebant enim ſi canon intelligendus eſſet de abſoluta neceſſitate, id eſt tali quæ removeret à Deo omnem potentiam aliter ſtatuendi, ante ſuppoſitionem omnis decreti & voluntatis certæ temere nihil definiendum eſſe de abſoluta Dei potentia, eſſe hanc ſpeculationem magis Scholaſticam, Ideoque Canones Synodicos non debere ingredi, præſertim cum quidam Patres, et nonnulli Doctores reformati putent illam naturæ ſimilitudinem hoc ſenſu non fuiſſe ſimpliciter & abſolute neceſſariam, ſi vero Canon ſit intelligendus, de neceſſitate hypothetica id eſt ex ſuppoſitione decreti & voluntatis certo nobis in Scriptura Revelatæ, (quo ſenſu putant vocabulum neceſſitatis in hoc negotio in ſacra Scriptura accipi) canonem verum eſſe putant; ſed nullo modo ferire Remonſtrantes qui abſolutam tantum neceſſitatem rejiciunt ut patet ex ipſorum verbis in nupera declaratione exhibita, Ideoque putant conſultius hunc cannonem poſſe omitti, à pluribus multa de hac quæſtione dicta ſunt; quibus omnibus Britanni Reſponderunt; Potiora tamen ſuffragia voluerunt canonem illum retineri, præſes monuit ſic concipiendum eſſe ut poſſit omnibus ſatisfieri.

Seſſio 130. *eodem die poſt meridiem*] *Leguntur* Canones Synodici de 3. & 4. articulis, ubi omnes ac ſinguli Synodici poſt ipſorum prælectionem viritim conſenſum ſuum ſolennibus verbis teſtabantur; Varii Theologi tamen varia annotabant: ſed quæ tantum perſpicuitatem in verbis ſpectabant; in re ipſa nihil deſiderantes.

Leguntur Canones Synodici de 5. articulo poſt ipſorum Lectionem ſinguli porro (ut in prioribus) ipſos ſolenni conſenſu comprobabant: D. Goadus recitavit catalogum duriorum phraſium quas Theologi Brittanni cupiebant à Synodo rejici, eo quod ex ipſis, tum Remonſtrantes tum Pontificii, doctrinam Reformatam calumniandi magnam anſam ſumerent; D. Scultetus etiam ſuadebat ut uſus aliquis à Synodo deligeretur qui ultimam manum canonibus imponeret, daretque operam ut ſtylus canonum ubique par eſſet & limatus ſatis & perſpicuus, aliqui nec dictionem nec ſtylum mutari voluerunt; quidam quoque putabant non fore è re Synodi ut duriores illæ phraſes rejicerentur à Synodo, quia ſic læderetur fama excellentiſſimorum virorum quorundam; Præſes movet die craſtino mane deputatos Synodicos conventuros eſſe, capturoſque conſilium de mutandis illis aut delendis quæ obſervata ſunt à quibuſdam fratribus atque etiam de rejiciendis phraſibus durioribus, idque ea ratione qua poſſit magis commode omnibus ſatisfieri; porroque de præfatione, & Epilogo canonum proſpecturos; Rogatque ut ſingula collegia unum aliquem ad horam quartam pomeridianam mittant; qui deſcribant ea quæ conceperunt deputati, & ad collegia ſua referant, ut ſic de omnium conſenſu conſtare poſſit ante proximam Seſſionem.

Seſſio 131. 20. *Aprilis ſtylo novo*] *Legitur* Epilogus poſt Canones conceptus à deputatis, in quo etiam continebatur abſterſio calumniarum quarundam, quibus doctrinam Eccleſiarum Belgicarum Remonſtrantes gravare conantur; Quæritur an omnes Synodici in forma prelecta acquieſcant: Britanni voluerunt quædam alia rejectanea addita qualia erant illa duo præcipue [*Deum movere Hominum linguas ad blaſphemandum*] & [*Hominem non poſſe plus boni facere quam facit.*] Hatſiaci legerunt ſcriptum prolixum & bene concinnatum, in quo pluribus rationibus oſtendebant neceſſarium eſſe ut plures duriores locutiones quæ apud privatos ſcriptores reperiuntur, rejicerentur à Synodo, ut ſic Eccleſiæ reformatæ à graviſſimis calumniis circa Reprobationis doctrinam liberari poſſint: Bremenſes itidem ſcripto bene prolixo idem contendebant: Reliqui Theologi Exteri formam jam prelectam probabant: D. Præſes movebat non rogandæ eſſe provincialium ſuffragia ante Seſſionem pomeridianam; quia videbat Theologos Exteros hic non idem ſentire, & movet profeſſores Belgicos ut in horam quartam penſitent rationes quæ utrinque fuerunt allatæ.

Seſſio 132. *eodem die poſt meridiem*] D. *Præſes* antequam pergat in rogandis ſuffragiis de quæſito antemeridiano, rogat Synodum ut velit audire quæ ipſe una cum D. aſſeſſoribus tempore intermedio de rejectione duriorum locutionum conceperant: & rogat Synodum ut velit hæc duo perpendere, primo neminem ex Theologis Belgis iſtiuſmodi nunquam ſcripſiſſe aut docuiſſe; ac proinde non ſpectare illa ad hanc Synodum quæ tantum Belgica eſſet: Secundo

doctores

doctores illos apud quos iſthæc duriora dicta comperiuntur fuiſſe & eſſe vel Theologos Anglos vel Gallos, vel Germanos; qui cum a ſuis principibus & Eccleſiis ob illas duriores loquendi formas non eſſent notati, veriſimile aiebat eſſe principes illos & Eccleſias exteras ægre laturas ſi Synodus hæc nationalis Ipſos ob iſthæc dicta aliqua cenſura notaret.

Legitur forma Epilogi jam de novo concepta, in qua plures aliquot incommodæ locutiones rejiciebantur quam in priori, ſed nullæ ex iis quos Theologi Exteri addi cupiebant: Quæritur *Synodicorum* de hoc Epilogo ſententia: Britanni ſerio urgent additionem plurium præſertim eorum quæ *Seſſione* antemeridiana memoraverant: ad duas Rationes à D. Præſide allatas Reſpondebant ad primam Remonſtrantes in declarationibus ſuis ad *Synodum* exhibitis, multa loca contra Remonſtrantium, ipſos libros & paginas citare in quibus iſtiuſmodi ſcripſerint; niſi itaq; *Synodus* iſtiuſmodi dicta improbet, non poſſe Belgas ab iſtiuſmodi calumniis liberari ad ſecundam Theologos Exteros non debere quidem in *Synodo* notari, verum ſi quid dixerint aut ſcripſerint quod cedat Reformatæ Eccleſiæ in contumeliam; illud poſſe *Synodum* cujuſcunq; demum ſit rejicere neq; hoc debere *Synodum* morari. Quod fortaſſis non ſint Belgæ, hac enim ratione Synodo nihil permitti in Socinū cujus tamen dogmata ſæpius quā ſemel in canonibus damnat; neque debuiſſe Regem Magnæ Britanniæ aliquid adverſus Vorſtium ſtatuere qui ipſius ſubditus non erat; optare ſe ut fiat ſummus delectus eorum quæ rejiciuntur, nec poſſe aliquam Reformatam Eccleſiam hoc ægre ferre; cum nihil cupiant rejici quod a conſenſu alicujus Reformatæ Eccleſiæ comprobatum ſit: cupere ſe preſertim ut illa ſententia rejiciatur, [*Neminem poſſe plus boni facere quam facit*] cum exinde nulli Reformato doctori defuncto aliqua contumelia inferatur; cum ſit ſententia heri tantum nata, quæ vix ſeptimum ætatis ſuæ numeraret annum: Reliqui omnes Theologi exteri quia cupiebant (ut ajebant ipſi) multum paci dare; in forma prelecta acquieſcebant; optabant tamen illi qui antemeridiem rationes ſuas attuliſſent ut poſſint plura rejici, Provinciales omnes formam prælectam probabant: & profeſſores Belgæ multis rationibus contendebant non debere *Synodum* dicta virorum alioqui optime de Eccleſia Reformata meritorum aliqua cenſura notare; D. Sibrandus tamen ajebat negari non potuiſſe quin aliqui in Belgio duriora quædam docuerint quam eſſent illa quæ Theologi Britanni in catalogo ſuorum rejectaneorum recitaverant, ſub finem præſes monet cum hæc ſit res ordinis, non doctrinæ ſolius conſulendos eſſe de hoc negotio Dominos Delegatos: qui rogati deliberaturos ſe de re præſenti in Seſſionem craſtinam maturinam pollicentur.

Seſsio 133. 22. *Aprilis ſtylo novo.*] D. *Præſes* rogat D. Delegatos ut velint *Synodo* exponere quid ipſi de Epilogo proxima Seſsione prelecto ſtatuant: D. Delegati cupiunt ipſum Denuo Relegi, Relegitur: D. Delegati illum probant, & rogant Synodicos ut ſi id fieri poſſit velint in ipſo acquieſcere, Orant porro ut jam tandem quam fieri poſſit maturime negotium hoc. 5^m^ articulorum ſemel abſolvant; quippe quod ipſi jam denuo iteraris Juſſionibus urgeantur à D. Suis ordinibus Generalibus ad hoc ſerio flagitandum: Rogantur Synodici de hac formula prælecta; Britanni omnibus modis urgebant ut aliqua rejectanea porro adderentur hoc præcipue, [*Hominem non plus boni facere quam facit:*] verum ſi hoc obtineri nequiret; ut darent multum paci non nemo ex ipſis monebat, ampliandam eſſe illam ſententiam [*Et quæ alia ſunt hujus generis plurima*] ut ſi quando exprobaretur ipſis aliqua horribilis ſententia quam non rejecerant, poſſent ſe excuſare per illam parentheſin, & afferere omnia iſtiuſmodi in illa ſententia rejecta fuiſſe a Synodo: Itaque ut paci & tempori conſulant, acquieſcunt; monentes tamen illud omnino mutandum eſſe quod habetur in Epilogo; doctrinam Reformatarum Eccleſiarum cenſendam eſſe Eam quæ hiſce canonibus continetur, ſe enim profitebantur deputatos à ſereniſsima Regia majeſtate non ab Eccleſiis ſuis, nulla ſibi commiſſam authoritatem qua poſſent Eccleſiarum ſuarum confeſſiones explicare, tuliſſe ſe tantum privata ſua judicia quæ ipſi putarent vera eſſe; multa ſe in canonibus tanquam vera concluſiſſe, de quibus ne verbum quidem habetur in Eccleſiarum ſuarum confeſsionibus, verum quod ſciant nihil in illis contineri quod iſtis confeſsionibus repugnaret: Reliqui Synodo prelectum Epilogum probabant, et complurimi cenſebant reliquas duriores loquendi formulas deberi in ſcripto Elenchico quod adornatur diſcuti;

atque

atque illic calumnias quibus ob ipſas gravatur reformata Eccleſia debere depelli. D. Præſes itaque monet Deputatos Synodi à meridie conventuros, ut quam fieri poſſit, canones illos duos Heterodoxos in primo articulo de quibus tantopere in Synodo non ita pridem diſceptabatur, ita componant ut ſinguli facile in conſenſum adduci poſſent. Interea monet jam deſcribi nitidum omnium Canonum exemplar, quibus publice in Synodo à ſingulis ſeſſione craſtina autemeridiana ſubſcribendum eſſet ut ſic Canones — abſoluti eodem die poſſunt Hagam ad D. Ord. Generales tranſmitti, ſub initium enim hujus Seſſionis, narrabat D. Gregor: Martinii, D. Delegatos quoſdam ex ipſorum numero delegiſſe qui die Craſtino Canones ad D. Ordines eſſent delaturi, hoc enim ajebat D. Ordines; et cum Eccleſiæ, tum Reipublicæ Belgicæ ſtatum depoſcere.

Seſſio 134. 33. *Aprilis ſtylo novo.*] *Leguntur* articuli de primo articulo contraverſo quibus omnes et ſinguli ſolenniter ſubſcribunt, in tribus exemplaribus, præſes monet à ſingulis collegiis unum exemplar deſcribendum eſſe cui etiam ſinguli Synodici ſubſcripturi eſſent: loca Scripturæ narrat poſtea deſcribenda eſſe et addenda fuſius, quæ jam per temporis anguſtias deſcribi non potuerunt: Narrat jam inter deputatos conveniſſe de mutatione ſecundi articuli Heterodoxi in ſecundo articulo in tres articulos, et deletione ultimi Heterodoxi in eodem articulo qui erat de abſoluta neceſsitate ſimilitudinis naturæ in mediatore noſtro: quæ mutata erant in ſecundo Heterodoxo leguntur; et rogat D. Præſes ſingulos ut in ſeſsionem pomeridianam deliberent num poſsint in mutatis acquieſcere.

Seſſio 135. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Rogantur* Synodicorum ſuffragia num placeat ipſis ut ultimus ille Heterodoxus Canon in ſecundo articulo deleatur, et ſecundus ille in tres prælectos Canones mutetur, placuit omnibus et ſinguli. Leguntur itaque Canones de ſecundo, tertio, quarto, quinto, articulis, quibus etiam ſinguli ſolemniter ſubſcribunt, duravit hæc ſeſſio in horam 10. veſpertinam.

Seſſio 136. 24. *Aprilis ſtylo novo.*] D. *Præſes* monet D. Deputatos à Synodo, mandaſſe uni, ut conciperet formam perſonalis cenſuræ quam Synodus exerceret adverſus citatos, et quoſcunque alios qui recuſarent doctrinam Synodicam, varios quoque Synodicos Deputatis formulas obtuliſſe, eos tandem in unam conveniſſe, quæ nunc prelegenda eſſet Synodo ut eam probet, vel corrigat: legitur, fuit autem in hanc ſententiam, Synodum cenſere Remonſtrantes eſſe novatores et perturbatores patriæ, Reipub. præſertim Eccleſiæ Belgicæ, ejuſmodi docuiſſe dogmata quæ à verbo dei, et confeſsionibus Reformatarum Eccleſiarum diſſentirent, præterea citatos ad hanc Synodum teneri reos contumaciæ adverſum cum ſupremum Magiſtratum cujus decreta ſpreverint, tum ipſam Synodum quam pro legitimo judice nunquam voluerunt agnoſcere, ideoque Synodum omnes ad præſentem Synodum abdicare ab omnibus ſuis muneribus tum Eccleſiaſticis tum Academicis, eo uſque dum pœnitentiam agant de falſis dogmatibus à ſe ſcriptis, prelectis, et dictis, et poſsint hanc ſuam pœnitentiam indubitatis ſtudiis et ſignis Eccleſiis Belgicis teſtatam facere, reliquos vero Remonſtrantes in Belgio ad Synodos provinciales remittit, quibus mandat ut ductores et pertinaces continuo omnibus ſuis muneribus abdicent, reliquos vero vitio temporis lapſos, et à ſeductoribus abreptos omni lenitate et patientia, conentur in viam reducere, quos ſi lucrifacere poſsint omni conatu id agant, ſin minus pariter et cum ipſis agant: Porro Synodus, illuſtriſsimos ord. Generales obnixe rogat ut hanc ſuam ſententiam de quinq; articulis, atque etiam de Remonſtrantibus abdicandis firmam et ratam eſſe velint et jubeant, gratiaſque ipſorum Dominationibus cum omni debito obſequio defert propter ipſorum de reformandis Eccleſiis ſuis ſtudium ſingulare: Queritur Synodicorum judicium de cenſura hac perſonali: Theologi Britanni omnes ac ſinguli reſpondebant doctrinam Eccleſiarum Belgicarum hic in Synodo aſſertam ſuam fuiſſe, ac proinde ipſos vocatos ſententiam ſuam de illo expoſuiſſe, perſonas vero qui contrariam ſententiam docuerint eſſe cives Belgas; Ideoque de aliorum ſubditis nolle ſe ullo modo perſonalem ſententiam ferre, ideoque ſe cenſuram omnino provincialibus relinquere, quibus integrum eſſet de ſuis miniſtris ſtatuere: idem ſentiebant omnes Theologi exteri, exceptis Genevenſibus et Embdanis qui ſententiam prælectam probabant, et Bremenſibus qui tempus deliberandi poſcebant: Provinciales quædam in forma prælecta obſervabant: Cujuſmodi fuit illud non eſſe fori Eccleſiaſtici eos damnare tanquam perturbatores patriæ et pacis Reip. hoc ſpectare ad ci-

vilem magiſtratum: magna fuit diſceptatio inter provinciales an tollerandi eſſent illi qui utcunque nollent ſubſcribere articulis Synodicis, tamen reciperent ſe nihil unquam vel publice vel privatim adverſus ipſos dicturos aut docturos: quidem ex provincialibus petebant ut Theologi Exteri de hac re ſuam ſententiam aperirent, ſed D. Præſes reſpondebat iſta particularia omnino oportere relinqui Synodorum provincialium prudentiæ, et neſcire ſe adhuc quam tollerantiam permiſſuri eſſent D. Ord. Generales, itaque forma prelecta, ſi paucula quædam mutarentur, ab omnibus provincialibus probata eſt, exceptis Zelandis et Gallobelgicis qui ſpatium deliberandi de re graviſſima petiverunt.

Seſſio 137.] *Relegitur* cenſura perſonalis emendata in qua illud de perturbatione patriæ et Reip. omittebatur: quæritur Synodicorum ſententia de ipſa jam correcta, Britanni et Haſciaci eam nec probabant nec improbabant, noluerunt enim ſe perſonalibus immiſcere, reliqui omnes Exteri, ut aiebant re ipſa melius perpenſa quam ante meridiem eam probabant, exceptis Bremenſibus, quorum duo priores inirius quoddam conſilium ſuggerebant, tertius vero D. Grocius rem putabat eſſe maximi momenti ideoque nihil poſſe ſe de ea ſtatuere niſi apographum formulæ prælectæ et tempus deliberandi concedatur: provinciales omnes eam probabant, Gomarus autem et alii petebant ut Synodus apud ord. generales intercederet pro largiendo Remonſtrantibus minus pertinacibus trimeſtri ſtipendio, fortaſſis enim poſſent cupere illo tempore cum viris doctis conferre ſuiſque conſcientiis de canonibus Synodicis ſatisfaeere; ſed volnit ipſos primo quoque tempore à miniſteris ſui exercitio ſuſpendi, D. Præſes Reſpondebat non eſſe è dignitate Synodi tam Auguſtæ, ut intercedat apud D. Ordines pro re ſtipendiaria, verum non dubitare ſe quin D. Ordines benigne ſatis et clementer cum ipſis acturi eſſent: rogatur D. Delegatorum de hac prælecta cenſura judicium, qui reſpondebant ſe nolle tantum ſibi aſſumere ut ipſam probent, ſed delaturos ſe ipſam D. Ord. generalibus, à quibus ſolis comprobatio expectanda eſſet: Theologi Britanni monebant in hac cenſura dici Synodicos articulos concluſos eſſe ſecundum ſententiam omnium Reformatarum Eccleſiarum, quo dicto in nuebatur Eccleſias Lutheranas, quæ aliter ſentirent, non habendas eſſe pro Reformatis, quod ipſis durum admodum videbatur; D. Scultetus, et Polyander reponebant, ipſos Lutheranos nomen hoc deprecari, et noſtris Eccleſiis ex hoc nomine (*Reformatarum*) ſolere invidiam conflare, et D. Præſes addebat hic in Belgio ſolere noſtras Eccleſias per illud nomen (*Reformatas*) non ſolum à pontificiis verum etiam à Lutheranis diſtingui: *Britanni* reſpondebant in ſuis Eccleſiis Lutheranos haberi pro Reformatis, ut pote à quibus Religionis Reformatio primum tentata eſt, habereque ſe porro in mandatis à ſereniſſimo D. Rege ut quantum fieri poſſent deſpicerent ne offenderentur Eccleſiæ Lutheranæ, itaque addita eſt iſthæc vox *Noſtratum*.

Leguntur blaſphemæ opiniones duorum fratrum Thomæ, et Petri Geſterranorum, qui Remonſtrantes erant, et ab Ordinibus Hollandiæ et Weſt-Friſia ſuſpenſi à miniſteriis dum Synodus poſsit de ipſorum opinionibus cognoſcere.

Seſſio 138. 25. *Aprilis ſtylo novo.*] *Legitur* ſupplex libellus Johannis Macovii Theologiæ profeſſoris in Academia franekerana, quo graviſſime queritur ſe apud ordines Friſiæ in ſimulatum fuiſſe hereſeos à D. Sibrando Luberto, petit itaque ſuppliciter ut Synodus velit de tota cauſa cognoſcere, ut audito Sibrando ipſe poſſit dicere pro ſe ſaltem ut Sibrandus et ipſe ex Synodicis arbitros deligant, qui totum hoc negotium diligenter examinent et ad Synodum referant, Præſes rogat D. Sibrandum ut exponat coram Synodo ſententiam ſuam de tota hac lite, Sibrandus negat ſe unquam fuiſſe Macovii accuſatorem; verum teſtimonio duorum fratrum Friſiorum probat ipſum à claſſe Franekerana fuiſſe accuſatum, ſe autem juſſu D. ordinum Friſiæ, et rogatu prædictæ claſſis ſolum claſſis os pro illo tempore fuiſſe, itaque ſicut ante hac in hac lite pars non fuerat, ſic et nunc nullo modo ſe velle haberi pro parte proteſtatur: D. præſes narrat conveniens eſſe ut Synodus de hac cauſa cognoſcat, quia id ſerio petunt D. Ordines Friſiæ per literas ſuas ad D. Delegatos, atque etiam huc ad Synodum omnia acta in lite hac apud ipſos conteſtata tranſmiſerint. Queritur itaque à Synodo cum Sibrandus non ſit pars, an debeat ipſe Macovius primum audiri, an vero ipſo ſemoto ex actis ordinum Friſiæ de cauſa cognoſci, placuit Synodo ut primum acta prelegerentur, deinde ſi opus eſſet, ut audiretur coram Macovius.

Legitur proœmium bene longum quod præfigendum eſſet canonibus Synodicis, quæritur de illo

illo judicium Synodi, quod ſic ſe habebat, eſſe putabat iſthoc proœmium nimis longum, porro que ſtyli ſublimis admodum, adeoque à ſtylo canonum admodum diſparis, Ideoque omnino brevius conficiendum eſſe putat, ſuccinctum & nervoſum, exponens occaſionem & finem convocatæ Synodi, quod præmittendum eſſet Canonibus, ſi fortaſsis ab actis Synodicis ſeorſim excudantur: præſes itaque monet deputatos Synodicos ut ante meridiem conveniant, ut ex pluribus brevioribus formulis, quæ ſibi a variis Synodicis eſſent oblatæ: unum aliquod ſuccinctum proœmium poſſent conficere.

Seſſio 139. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Legitur* aliud novum brevius proœmium à deputatis Synodicis ex variis formulis ſibi oblatis confectum: quod totum Synodo placuit ſi paucula quædam mutarentur: Britanni putabant pro [*Anti-chriſti tyrannide*] magis commode dici poſſe [*Anti-Chriſtiana tyrannide*] quia ut ut fortaſſis verum putarent pontificem Romanum eſſe magnum illum Antichriſtum, tamen ſine juſto examine præmiſſo vix putarent debere hoc à Synodo determinari, quod à nulla Reformata Eccleſia adhuc excepta Gallicana quæ & jam articulum illum ex confeſſione ſua retraxit factum eſſet; quidam ex Synodicis ægre ferebant hoc vocari in quæſtionem; quibus reponebant Britanni, non vocari nunc rem ipſam nimirum an pontifex Romanus eſſet ille antichriſtus qui quæſtionem; ſed hoc an debeat hoc à Synodo determinari nulla deliberatione præmiſſa:

Seſſio 140. 26. *Aprilis ſtylo novo.*] *Legitur* alter ſupplex libellus Macovii, quo petit ut arbitri deligantur, & ut reſponſum ſuum ad errores ſibi objectos ipſiuſque explicatio legi poſsit. D. Scribæ & porro D. Thyſius & D. Lydius publica fide teſtantur ſe quædam exemplaria canonum Synodicorum cum originali fideliter contuliſſe, eaque cum ipſo per omnia convenire, quibus ſinguli Synodici ſubſcribunt.

Leguntur acta in lite Macovii ad Synodum ab ordinibus Friſiæ tranſmiſſa; & primum legebantur. 50. errores objecti D. Macovio in claſſe Franekerana quos videre poteris in altero meo libro Synodico: qui revera primo quoque auditu videbantur exceptis uno aut altero, non fuiſſe tanti momenti ut homo doctus de illis coram Synodo accuſaretur: complurimi ipſorum erant ex iſta receptiſſima diſtinctione agentis Phyſice & moraliter, ab accuſatore male intellecta.

Seſſio 141. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Legitur* una D. Macovii Reſponſio ad errores ſibi objectos; deinde alia brevior, in utraque ſatisfaciebat criminibus ſibi objectis abunde ſatis, alios negando, alios explicando.

Legitur Epiſtola facultatis Theologicæ Heidlebergenſis ad Ordines Friſiæ, in qua facultas Theologica monet dominos ordines Friſiæ ne patiantur Theſes tam otioſas metaphyſicas, obſcuras, falſas in ſuis ſcholis diſputari, quales fuerant nuper in Academia Franekerana Theſes de traductione ſub Macovio diſputatæ.

D. Præſes quærit a Synodo an uberior Macovii explicatio quam hic offert Synodo, deberet etiam in Synodo legi, & qua ratione pergendum ſit in hac cauſa: Quidam ex Exteris Theologis dicebant potuiſſe illos. 50. errores, ad quinque vel etiam quatuor reduci potuiſſe; nec ullum crimen hæreſeos ſicut objectum fuerat in illis deprehendi; Omnes exteri per deputatos rem putant agendam, & cupiunt duos exteros nominari & totidem profeſſores Belgicos, quibus adjungi poſſent duo paſtores qui de tota cauſa cognoſcant, & referant ad Synodum, pleriq; ipſorum explicationem prolixam Macovii putant non audiendam in Synodo, ſed referendam etiam ad deputatos: Genevenſes ſoli hoc conſilium non probabant: Deodatus rem ad ſolos provinciales voluit deferri poſt exterorum diſceſſum; Tronchinus vero oratione vehementiſſime contendebat nullo modo Macovium audiendum eſſe coram; ſed debere agi cum illo tanquam cum Remonſtrantibus & Epiſcopio: Illum judicandum ex ſcriptis: quod Judicium in hominem nullo modo heterodoxias ſuſpectum mirabantur omnes: dum ſuffragium dandum eſſet à D. Sibrando, Immodeſte ſatis invehebatur in Feſtum exprobrans ei ſummam in ſe ingratitudinem: recitabatque porro novum catalogum oplnionum D. Macovii quæ ejuſdem erant farinæ cum prioribus: feſtus venia ſandi a præſide impetrata modeſte ſatis D. Sibrandum excipiebat, narrabat theſes illas compoſitas fuiſſe nō à D. Macovio ſed à quodā Parkero Iuvene Doctiſsimo, & ab omnis heterodoxias ſuſpitione longe remotiſſimo; & licet nunc Sibrandus ſuſtinere partem accuſatoris recuſet, tamen ſe à quibuſdam fide dignis accepiſſe, omnes illos

errores Macovio objectos; D. Sibrandum ex Theſibus illis & aliis ipſius prælectionibus compilaſſe, quod ut audiebat D. Sibrandus vehementiſsime commotus bis deum vindicem in animam ſuam precabatur ſi iſthæc vera eſſent; adeo ut D. Præſes eum ſæpius modeſtiæ ſanctæ & Reverentiæ Synodo debitæ Juſſerit meminiſſe.

Seſsio 142. 27. *Aprilis ſtylo novo.*] *Pergitur* in rogandis ſuffragiis de cauſa Macovii plures Mirabantur eum ob illas Theſes poſſe hæreſeos inſimulari, præſertim cum unus ex South-Hollandis teſtatus ſit D. Aimeſium: illas theſes primum vidiſſe & approbaſſe, & jam paratum eſſe qui ipſas defendat: tandem potioribus ſuffragiis, ſtatutum eſt tertium ſcriptum Macovii legendum eſſe publice in Synodo, & tres ex Theologis Exteris, totidem ex provincialibus deputandos eſſe qui rem totam cognoſcant & referant ad Synodum: verum quia D. Preſes dicebat illud ſcriptum continere multa perſonalia præſertim in D. Sibrandum compilata, Quidam ex Exteris ob pacem conſervandam petierunt, ut rogarentur de iſthoc denuo Synodicorum ſuffragia, quod factum eſt: & plura ſuffragia tum voluerunt legi tantum privatim apud deputatos: Nominati itaque ſunt potioribus ſuffragiis deputati ad cauſam hanc audiendam, ex exteris Scultetus, Sthenius, Brittingerus: Ex provincialibus Gomarus, Thyſius, Menius: certe Exteri mirabantur D. Scultetum nominatum fuiſſe à provincialibus, & multo magis D. Scultetum id munus velle ſubire cum facultas Theologica Heidelbergenſis, cujus ipſe pars eſſet, theſes illas quæ examinandæ ſunt jam hactenus tanquam otioſas, metaphyſicas, & falſas damnaverit.

Seſsio 143. 29. *Aprilis ſtylo novo*] *Leguntur* literæ Belgicæ à magiſtratu & presbytero Campenſi ad Synodum quibus rogat Synodum ut velit ſcribere ad magiſtratum & presbyterium Arnemienſe ut velit dimittere D. D. Stephani, quem poſcunt ipſis paſtorem dari: Item ut velit ad magiſtratum & presbyterium quoque ſcribere pro dimiſsione D. Plancii, Synodus noluit ſe iſtiuſmodi negotiis immiſcere, ne fortaſsis cederet in præjudicium claſsium & presbyteriorum: Leguntur aliæ literæ a magiſtratu Campenſi, quibus petunt ut per Synodum liceat Eccleſiæ Remonſtranticæ Campenſi in templis ſuis habere lectionem ſacræ Scripturæ per lectores ſuos, eo uſque dum poſſet ipſi proſpici de paſtoribus: D. *Præſes* monet perſcriptum eſſe campis lectores illos ſolere attexere capitibus prelectis longas enarrationes ſubminiſtratas ſibi à duobus miniſtris ſuis jam à Synodo ſuſpenſis, quibus doctrina Remonſtranium afferebant, & in Orthodoxam invehebantur: porro duos ipſorum miniſtros qui ſunt ex numero citatorum hic ad Synodum, miſiſſe hinc literas ad Eccleſiam Remonſtrantium quæ eſt Campis: quibus plebem animabant ad conſtantiam in Remonſtrantium doctrina, jubebantque brevi certiſſimam liberationem ab hac perſecutione expectare; quæ literæ ante dies non ita multos à lectoribus publice in templo pro tota plebe recitabantur.

Leguntur aliæ literæ Belgicæ à Domino Battenberg, quibus Belgio Synodum gratulatur; promittitque ſe onaturum ut inditione ſua, obtineat illa doctrina quæ hic à Synodo ſtabilita eſſet.

Legitur proœmium præfigendum Canonibus jam emendatum, ubi pro [Antichriſti] ponebatur [Romani Antichriſti] quo vocabulo addito ſatisfiebat illis qui voluerunt ſine deliberatione à Synodo ſtatim pontificem Romanum eſſe inſignem illum Antichriſtum; ſed Antichriſtum tamen, atque ita proœmium ſic emendatum omnibus placuit.

Legitur confeſſio Petri Molinæi paſtoris Eccleſiæ Reformatæ Pariſienſis ſuper quinque articulis in Belgio contraverſis; quam huc ad Synodum tranſmiſit.

Seſsio 144. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Pergitur* in prelectione confeſſionis Petri Molinæi: D. Præſes monet jam rediiſſe Haga D. Delegatos, qui Canones Synodicos illuc ad illuſtriſſ. ord. Generales detulerant: oratque ipſorum Dominationes, ut velint coram Synodo exponere; Quid D. Ord. General: de ipſis ſentiant. D. Greg. Martinii oratione breviſſima refert Ord. Generales ſummopere gaviſos eſſe de Synodico conſenſu, in canonibus; probare ipſorum dominationes, eos univerſos & ſingulos, agereque de labore exantlavo Theologiis tum Exteris tum Provincialibus gratias maximas: rogare porro ut jam Synodus velit proximo in loco confeſſionem Belgicam perluſtrare, in qua nihil mutatum cupiunt ſine gravi & neceſſaria cauſa:

Dies Lunæ proximus publicandis Canonibus omnium Synodicorum conſenſu judicatur.

Præſes

Præſes rogat Singulos ut velint diligenter attendere lectioni confeſſionis Belgicæ; incidit quæſtio, quænam editio confeſſionis Belgicæ habenda eſſet pro authentica, cum ipſus editiones multum diſcreparent: eam ſtatuit Synodus legendā, & perluſtrandam quæ inſeritur Syntagmati confeſſionum Eccleſiarum Reformatarum: Illa itaque publicè prelegitur: D. Præſes rogat ſingula collegia ut in horam nonam craſtini diei velint exhibere collegialia judicia de confeſſione prelecta tota, exceptis tribus articulis videlicet 30.31.32. qui ordinen & Regimen Eccleſiæ ſpectant, Rogat ſingulos ut non velint inſiſtere in latinitate, aut phraſeologia ſed ſimpliciter, ferre judicium num quicquid illa contineatur; quod non ſit verbo divino conſentaneum.

Seſſio 145. 30. *Aprilis, ſtylo novo.*] Quæritur judicium Synodicum de confeſſione Belgica, Britanni Probant omnia dogmata ipſius, putant nihil in ea quoad ſubſtantiam contineri, quod ſacræ paginæ repugnet, quædam minutiora in ea obſervabant, ſed quæ facillime ex collatis exemplaribus in correcta, & nova quam parant editione emendari poſſent, monent de tribus capitibus, quæ ordinem Eccleſiaſticum ſpectant ſe nullam ferre ſententiam, ſed interim putare ſe regimen Eccleſiarum ſuarum eſſe inſtitutionis Apoſtolicæ: Epiſcopus autem Landavenſis oratione breviſſima contra illa tria prædicta capita perorabat; contendebatque in Eccleſia neque Apoſtolorum temporibus, neque poſtea unquam fuiſſe miniſtrorum æqualitatem: Itaq; communi Britannorum conſenſu declaratum eſt, nihil in confeſſione Belgica contineri, quod pugnaret cum ſacra pagina, aut analogia fidei. Eximus omnes ad funus *D.* Canteri Senioris Ultrajectini unius ex deputatis Synodicis, Redimus. Legitur judicium deputatorum à Synodo in cauſa Macoviana; cujus ſumma hæc erat; D. Macovium nullius, gentiliſmi, judaiſmi, pelagianiſmi, ſocinianiſmi, aut alterius cujuſcunque hæreſos reum teneri, immeritoque illum fuiſſe accuſatum, peccaſſe eum, quod quibuſdam ambiguis, & obſcuris Phraſibus ſcholaſticis uſus ſit, quod ſcholaſticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis Academiis introducere quod eas ſelegerit quæſtiones diſceptandas, quibus gravantur Eccleſiæ Belgicæ: Monendum eſſe eum, ut cum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio: hoc vitio vertendum ipſi, quod diſtinctionem ſufficientiæ & efficientiæ mortis Chriſti aſſeruerit eſſe futilem, quod negaverit humanum genus lapſum eſſe objectum prædeſtinationis, quod dixerit Deum velle, & decernere peccata, quod dixerit Deum nullo modo velle omnium hominum ſalutem, quod dixerit duas eſſe electiones: Judicant denique liticulam hanc inter *D. Sibrandum*, & D. Macovium componendam eſſe, & deinceps neminem debere eum talium criminum inſimulare.

Seſſio 146. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] Pergitur in rogandis ſuffragiis de confeſsione Belgica in eadem ſint ſententia cum Britannis: propter editionum varietatem petunt, ut exaretur exemplar aliquod unum exactum. ord. generalium authoritate confirmandum.

Seſſio 147. *calend. Maii. ſtylo novo.*] D. Gregorius Martinii exponit mentem Illuſtriſſ. ord. general. eandem eſſe de Catecheſi, quæ fuerat de confeſſione; Rogat itaque *S*ynodum ut de Catecheſi quoq; Palatino-Belgica velit ſententiam dicere, nec tam methodum, aut Phraſeologiam ſpectare, quam dogmata doctrinalia: Legitur totus catechiſmus: Rogantur *S*ynodici, ut ad horam. 4. Pomeridianam parent ſe ad ferendum collegialia de catecheſi perfecta judicia.

Seſsio 148 *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] Omnium judiciis approbantur dogmata in eo catechiſmo comprehenſa, ut verbo dei conſentanea, ac piè prudenterque conſcripta, Britanni de interpretatione articuli, de diſcenſu Chriſti ad inferos ſuam ab aliis Eccleſiam vindicat aliter explicandi poteſtatem: Ac demum propter gravem ab urbe Dordrechtana datam neglecti diei dominici offenſionem, rogant, ac monent Synodum, ut apud Magiſtratum intercedat, ne forenſes emptiones, apertis mercium officinis eo die exerceri permittant: ea occaſione à quodam ex provincialibus mota quæſtio de obſervatione *S*abbathi, ſed non diſcuſſa penitus, quia rejecta inter gravamina provincialia poſt ubi tunc noſtra tractanda.

Seſsio 149. 2. *Maii. ſtylo novo.*] Gregor. Martini unus ex politicis delegatis, Synodo & ordinum mentem exponit de Vorſtio, eos nempe mandare, ut de Theologia ejus fiat ſummaria ex ſcriptis cognitio, ac ut eo reſpiciant judicia *S*ynodica, utrum doctrina Vorſtiana ad Eccleſiæ ædificationem faciat, adeoque talis doctor Dignus videatur, qui Cathedram teneat Theologi cum: Scripſit jam tum Vorſtius eodem exemplo literas ad ſingula exterorum collegia, ſimulque ad *S*ynodum publicas: eæq; perleguntur, in quibus Synodi æquanimitatem, & Chriſtianam charitatē implorat, ſuū corā Synodo cōparēdi deſideriū inſinuat, rogat, ut ſi quæ ab ipſo liberius fuit diſputatū, veritatis eruendæ ſtudio imputetur, ut rationibus ex verbo dei petitis convinca-

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tur, ſe paratum eſſe teſtatur ad collationem cum Exteris Theologis in eundam item ad hereſin Socinianam refutandum, ſi ipſi ea mandetur provincia. Nec poſſe ſibi perſuadere comburendos ipſius libros, cum quædam Piſcatoris ſcripta longe horridiora, et bonis moribus infenſiora non ſint rogo addicta.

Lecta hac, epiſtolæ antiquæ nonnullæ Vorſtii ſimulatoriæ, et vulpinæ præſertim circa ſui explicationem, ac palinodiam Heidelbergæ præſtitam fraudes in medium proferuntur deinde errorum, et blaſphemiarum Vorſtii catalogus à Belgicis profeſſoribus collectus Synodo prælegitur ad capita reductus de dei attributis, Chriſtiq; deitate, ab illo partim aperte partius clanculum imminutis.

Seſſio 150. 3. *Maii ſtylo novo.*] Collegia ſingula tam exterorium, quam provincialium ſuum proferunt de Vorſtio judicium ſcripto exaratum, Britanni lecta à ſe collecta precipuarum Vorſtianarum contra divinam naturam blaſphemiarum Synopſi, monenti Vorſtium dato hoc ſcandalo, nunquam tamen in ſubſequentibus ſuis ſeu explicationibus, ſive defenſionibus ullum in ſuo de dei attributis libro propoſitum errorem agnoſcere, ſed abſurdiſſimis diſtinctiunculis, et inanibus ſubterfugiis obvelare, imo etiam præcipua orthodoxæ doctrinæ fundamenta callide pro viribus ſuffodere. Se itaque non modo ipſum Vorſtium orthodoxe profeſſoris munere ac nomine indignum judicare, ſed etiam perſuadere ne hujuſmodi ejus libri in bibliopiliis proſtare permittantur. Denique rogare, ut in exemplum, ſanctium in dei cauſa zeli teſtimonium Vorſtii de deo tractatus ſumi magiſtratus juſſu, aut Synodi decreto eadem munito palam ſolenniterque flammis abſumatur, ſimulque hujuſmodi infamis holocauſti ſpecimen. A Britannis eorum Synodo legitur authenticum procancellarii Cantabrigenſis ſigillo munitum, decretum 21. Septembris 1611. Cujus vi etiam Sereniſſimi regis noſtri indicio preeunte publice flammis ultricibus expurgatus eſt liber prædictus: ejuſdemque decreti Cantabrigienſis exemplar inter Synodi acta relatum. Sereniſſimi regis, et Cantabrigenſis intentio ſe examini ſubſcribere teſtantur Palatini Theologi, ac Vorſtii palinodiam multis abhinc annis Heidelbergæ preſtitam, quam fuerat fraudulenta narrant.

Haſſiaci etiam commemorant quam fuerat poſt modum non modo parum grata, ſed etiam invisa illuſtriſſimo ſuo domino Landigravio dedicatio ſui de deo libri, eidem pio principi nuncupata, quamque prudenter ipſum Vorſtium princeps ille ad ſe commendatum ad Cathedram profeſſoriam admittere recuſaverat. De Vorſtio ut cathedra indigno exautorando reliqui tum exteri tum provinciales omnes conſentiant quod autem ſe obtulerit jam pugilem evocandum contra Socinianos reſponſum eſt.

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis,
Tempus egit.——

Ut pote cum ipſe Vorſtius ad errorum, hereſeon curriculum etiam Socianiſmi ſit ſuſpectiſiſimus, nec ex animo rem geſturus putetur: ac in eo negotio ſibi dudum commiſſo, nihil prorſus preſtiterit.

Seſſio 151. 4. *Maii ſtylo novo.*] Decretum quoddam Synodicum de Vorſtii cauſa conceptum legitur et approbandum proponitur inde nonnulla interpellanda, alia omittenda, alia explicanda, moventur preſertim à Britannis, qui hic urgent quædam attribui Vorſtio, de capite juſtificationis de quibus, nec dum ſatis conſtat, quid aſſerat Vorſtius, illinc autem omitti alia, aut non ſatis aperte damnari, quæ maxime blaſphema ſunt, et Eccleſiæ quaſi univerſæ Chriſtianæ graviſsimum commoverunt offendiculum, ibidem multis agitatum, cum Vorſtius corporis ejuſdem reſurrectionem neget, aut Chriſti ſatisfactionem cum Socino penitus tollat. Et rei probandæ leguntur privatæ Vorſtii ad Dominum Toſſanum literæ pluribus abhinc annis ſcriptæ in quibus aperte Socinianiſmum profitetur. Sed à Britannis reſponſum judicandum reum ex libris à ſe agnitis et publicatis, non ex epiſtola privata de qua etiam non conſtat num ab ipſo conſcripta fuerit, conſtet ante ſcriptum fuiſſe ante Palinodiam ejus Heidelbergenſem. De libro Vorſtii comburendo Synodus non vult ſtatuere, ſed ad ſummum refert magiſtratum.

Seſſio 152. *eodem die poſt meridiem.*] *Decretum* contra Vorſtium denuo proponitur paulo mutatum, in eo deſiderant Britanni plura dei attributa à Vorſtio impetita recenſeri, ac Vorſtii de Chriſti ſatisfactione et hominis juſtificatione ſententiam, vel in cenſura omitti, vel Synodo, ut de eo melius conſtet, explicare. De his aliiſque Vorſtianis dogmatibus diu multumque diſceptatur. Tandem conſenſum eſt in eam, quæ ſancita eſt formam, (quam vide in altero meo libio

libro *Synodico*,) qua Vorſtius ob ſuam in ſuffodiendis præcipuis fidei fundamentis audaciam et impietatem indignus Cathedra Theologica judicatur. Optaturque ne ipſius libri de deo paſſim volitare permittantur, et nonnulla ſpeciatim alia quæ in eodem decreto continentur. Ante quam dimitteretur hic conſeſſus qui in multam noctem duravit, legitur: et per plura Synodi ſuffragia approbatur, ſententia dependatorum in cauſa Macoviana qui eum ab omni hæreſi abſolvendum cenſuerunt, ſed monendum ut Theologiam docendi modum commodiorem ſequatur, verborumque formis ex ſacra ſcriptura petitis utatur etiam juſtam eum reprehenſionem incurrere ob quaſdam propoſitiones ab ipſo crudius et rigidius aſſertas. His itaque clam compoſitis, interpellat Friſius quidam ſenex nomine *Donia* ſe quod ad ipſum attinet Macovium (qui ſuum paſſus eſt tacite obvolvi negotium) nihil velle commovere: ſe ipſum autem, alioſque nonnullos hac in cauſa læſos, ideoque comuni collegarum nomine coram Synodo proteſtari ſalvo jure ut agant contra accuſatores, partes autem accuſatorias domino Sibrando eſſe demandatas, conſtare ex literis quibuſdam publicis, quas è ſinu deprompſit, ac coram Synodo legi poſtulavit, increbeſcenti hac in inexpoſtulatione plurium fervori, ac multiloquio, modum imponunt Delegati politici malleo ſuo, quo mos eſt ſilentium obſtrepentibus imperare. Denique præſes ad Synodum refert diem lunæ proximum Canonibus in majore urbis Templo publicandis deſtinatum eſſe, et ſic conventus dimittitur.

Seſſio 153. 6. Maii ſtylo novo.] *Conveniunt* primum in loco Synodali, ubi erat ſpectatorum nobilium et aliorum, utriuſque ſexus maximus confluxus; præſes ſolennem precationem concipit; qua hodierno negotio fauſtum ſucceſſum vovet, auditorium dimittitur, paulo poſt, ſinguli Synodici non ſine decora pompa a loco Synodali ad magnum Templum per plateas Dordrechtanas pergunt; nudique, cuncti numeroſis ſpectatoribus, incedebant autem Synodici bini, hoc ordine, primo incedebant illuſtriſſimo ordines Generales Delegati quos ſequebatur ipſorum Secretarius D. Heinſius: poſtea ſequuti ſunt D. Epiſcopus Landavenſis; et D. Præſes Synodi ipſi a ſiniſtra, dein reliqui omnes Theologi Exteri, ſecundum loca ipſis, in Synodo deſignata, Exteros ſequebantur D. aſſeſſores et ſcribæ; poſt illos D. profeſſores Belgici, et poſt ipſos reliqui provinciales Theologi, ſecundum illum quo in Synodi ſedebant ordinem, In templum devenimus capaciſſimum et ſplendidum, quod tamen ingenti auditorum numero fuit repletiſsimum, inter quos fuerunt complurimi nobiles et Generoſi, in utroque ſexu, cum ex Belgico, tum etiam ex aliis nationibus, occuparunt Synodici loca ſua in choro templi ubi tota hæc ſolennitas peragebatur, à parte dextra conſidebant, primum D. Præſes Eccleſiaſticus, poſt eum D. Aſſeſſores et ſcribæ, poſt illos D. Epiſcopus, reliquique deinceps ſecūdū ordinem Synodicū, Theol. Exteri, in loco editiori et ſatis cōmodo, in ſcamnis inferioribus cōſidebant illuſt. ord. Gener. delegati, poſt illos D. Profeſſores Belgici, D. Præſes ſingulis ſuo ordine jam collocatis, ex pulpito ibi extructo cōmodiſsime ſito ad partem chori occidentalem adeoq; in ipſa Templi medietate, ubi poſsit cōmodiſsime à cōfertiſsima corona ex audiri, ſolennitatem auſpicatus eſt precatione valde prolixa, ſed pientiſsima et appoſitiſsima, cujus prior pars et multo longior fuit ex ſolis ſcripturarū ſententiis, cum ſumma elegantia, et judicio contexta, plæneq; concinnata ad venerandū antiquitatis ſtylum, legebat eam ex Schedulis deſcriptis, duravitq; per horæ dimidium, poſtea ſine ullo præ ſamine. narrat quā breviſsime auditorio indictū fuiſſe hanc ſolennem conventū, ut omnes jam tandem fructum laborū Synodicorū perciperent, audirentq; prelectos illos canones, quos tot tantiſq; laboribus exantlatis, immenſo dei beneficio, et ſuaviſsima omniū ac ſingulorūm cōſpiratione, veneranda Synodus conceperat, ac efformaverit.

Itaq; D. Dān ānus unus ex ſcribis Synodicis, in idem pulpitū aſcendit, ac prin ū prelegit præmium quod canonibus præfigitur: quo prelecto, D. Præſes monet omnes auditores ut ex more recepto, ſinguli velint hodiernā lætitiam, et ſuam divinæ majeſtati gratitudinem teſtari erogando eleemoſynā pauperibus: quam diaconi quidā Eccleſiæ Dordrechtanæ ad id muneris deſignati colligebant, procul dubio ſatis amplam: neminem enim obſervavimus qui manum ſuam fronte hilari non porrigebat, redit ad pulpitum D. Dammannus et aggreditur ipſorum canonum prælectionem, lectis articulis primi capitis contraverſi, propter templi magnitudinem, et ſpiſſas frequentiſsimi auditorii animas, deficere incipiebat ipſum vox, itaque D. Feſtus Hemmius alter ſcriba Synodicus pulpitum conſcendit, legitque canones de ſecundo tertio et quarto articulis; et voce ipſum qnoque ob prædictas cauſas deficiente, rediit D. Dammannus, legitque canones de quinto articulo, et Epilogum Synodicum, quibus finitis legit quoque ſingulorum

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ſubſcriptiones, ſinguli ad nomina ſua audita fidem canonum apertione capitis teſtabantur; poſtea legit quoq; Idem ſcriba Synodi cenſuram perſonalem de Remonſtrantibus cui non addita erant ſingulorum Syngraphæ, eo quod quidam ex Exteris voluerint de hominum perſonis ſed tantum de ipſorum doctrina aliquid ſtatuere.

Poſt omnia lecta, legebatur quoque teſtimonium, D. Delegatorum, quo teſtantur ſe interfuiſſe dum iſthæc agrerentur, omniaque quæ jam prelecta fuerant optima fide relata fuiſſe; quod ſinguli una cum D. Heinſio ipſorum ſecretario, ſuis Syngraphis comprobant, monet porro D. Præſes, confeſsionem & catecheſin Belgicam eſſe quoque à Synodo comprobatas; & ſic concludit cum precatione & gratiarum actione; ejuſdē Plane ſtyli cum priori & fere Paris prolixitatis; poſt abſolutam totam ſolennitatem pulſantur Organa, & ſic omnes Synodici domum redeunt ad locum Synodicum eodem plane ordine quo venerant; Ibi dominus Præſes monet jam omnia negotia Synodica quæ poſcerent opem Exterorum Theologorum, abſoluta eſſe; Ideoque monet ut ſingula collegia duos mittant qui ad horam quartam Pomeridiana incipiant deſcribere canones, quibus poſtea ſubſcribant ipſe cum Aſſeſſoribus & ſcribis, ut ſic ſingula collegia habeant exemplar authenticum aſſervandum in perpetuam rei memoriam: brevi precatione Synodum dimittit.

Seſsio 154. & ultima. 9. Maii. ſtylo novo.] D. *Præſes* movet hunc ultimum Synodi conventū celebrari ad agendū Deo gratias pro exoptatiſſimo Synodi exitu, porroq; ad agendas gratias Theologis Exteris pro graviſsimis laboribus ſuſceptis: Gregorius Martini unus ex Delegatis, 1° precationē habet ſuaviſsima & juſtæ prolixitatis qua Deo gratias agit pro aſſerenda religionis punirate in Eccleſiis Belgicis, operi & conſiliis hujus Synodi, precaturq; iiſdem Eccleſiis in veritate hic aſſerta invictam conſtantiā, Precatione finita, oratione eleganti Theologos Exteros cōpellat, nomine Illuſtriſſ ord. gen. ſingulis gratias rependit pro ſaluberrimis ipſorū conſiliis, & graviſsimis laboribus quibus hoc tempore Eccleſias Belgicas ſublevaſſent, itidem & ingentibus illis principibus Rebuſpublicis, Magiſtratibus qui ipſos delegaſſent, nominatim ipſos cū ſumma obſervantia recenſendo; rogatq; ut Eccleſias Belgicas ipſorū ecſitudinibus curatent fore cōmendatiſſimas: rogat ut ſinguli præſentes perſuadeant ſibi de prolixiſſimo ord. gen. erga ipſo animo, utque ante diſceſſum Hagam comitis petant, referantque ab illuſtriſſ. ord. gen. gratias, & porro ad principes & Reſpublicas ſus literas dimiſſorias.

D. *Præſes* Eccleſiaſticus oratione pia cōmemorat Dei beneficia in Eccleſiā ſuā ſæpius lapſentē, applicatione facta ad Eccleſias Belgicas prædicat mediata illa inſtrumēta quibus Deus ad hanc rem uſus fuerat, cum primis Regē magnæ Britanniæ, deinde reliquos principes & Magiſtratus nominatim, qui huc Theologos ſuos miſiſſent: deinde omnes & ſingulos Theologos Exterors hic præſentes, quibus omnia fauſta et cæleſtes benedictiones comprecatur, Jubetq; ipſo eſſe perſuaſiſſimos eorū memoriā fore hic in æternum ſuaviſſimā primū Theologi Britanni ſinguli orationib⁹ brevibus et ſuccinctis, Deo agunt gratias de Synodi tam fælici ſucceſſu, D. Delegatis et fratribus Belgis ob ſingularē humanitatē, Deum rogant ut velit Eccleſias Belgicas ſemper fælices eſſe et pacatas: Idem præſtiterunt palatini perdominū Sculteti; Idem Haſſiaci per *D.* Crucigerum, Idem Helvetii per *D.* Brittin germu. Idem Naſſovici per *D.* Alſtediū: Idem Genevenſes ſinguli; Idem Bremenſes, per D. Martiniū. Idem Embdani ſinguli, ſed uterq; prolixiſſime, itaq; omnes Exteri vota ſua nuncupaſſent præſes Synodo piiſsima et Gratulatoria precationē finem impoſuit; Tum, primum *D.* Delegati, dein. D. Præſes, dein. D. Aſſeſſores et ſcribæ, dein Singuli Synodici Belgæ loca ſua relinquentes ſingulos Theologos Exteros ordine datis dextris et adjunctis votis humaniſsime ſalutant; atq; ſic *Seſsio* hæc auditoribus frequentiſsima, adeoq; ipſa Synodus Dordrechtana, cum ſummis gratulationibus, et maxima animorum lætitia ob ſperatum finem, et mœrore ob corporum divulſionem Q. F. F. Q. ſit dimiſſa eſt.

FINIS.